

Maclean's

**BOSNIA:
THE UN IN
CHAINS**

FIGHTING BACK

**THE ANGRY REVOLT
OVER GUN CONTROL**

**ALLAN ROCK:
MINISTER ON
THE FIRING LINE**

**Doug and Becky Middleton
of Senlac, Sask.**



LETTERS

Looking for crime?

As a Bermuda scientist, I find the Internet a very useful tool for communicating with other scientists and learning of new research projects. But occasionally ("Crime in Cyber City," *Cover*, May 22)—where? My experience suggests that you probably have to search for it, not unlike going to any museum stand, bookstore or video store. Why concentrate on the Net if we're not expressing similar concerns about pornography from other sources?

Michael Sullivan,
Edmonton, AB

Why must the media always overemphasize the issue of crime and pornography on the Internet? After reading your issue, I was left with the distinct feeling that the Internet is an evil nest of criminals and child molesters. This is simply not true. Please, put things in their proper perspective.

James R. Gennett,
Hawesbury, AL

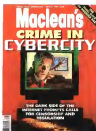
I was disturbed by your "Crime in Cybercity" article. You seem to be pushing the idea that the Internet should be regulated so that only ideas that are generally well-received are allowed expressed. The majority of Internet users don't seem to feel the need for censorship, and it is mostly the people who don't have a clue what the Internet is about that are pushing for controls. There are a hundred to access information they don't want to see—one has to go looking for it. I would rather pick what I want to read than let a censorious Ottawa tell me what he feels I should be reading.

Matthew McLean,
Brimont, Ont. AB

Not so equal

It would appear that Duane DeMoss, the director of cartoons depicting violent anti-semitic cartoons and Marilyn Marshall, an associate vice-president at Carleton University in Ottawa who designed a complaint about the cartoon ("No jokes about cartoons," *Opinion*, May 15), are of the same breed, believing that hate-mongering and harassment are justified if employed in the pursuit of equality. Desecration of cemeteries are perverse and wicked, regardless of the reason. To suggest that they are simply harmless funerals that occur to closed eyes is insensitive and hypocritical.

John Gilman,
Ottawa



"Crime in Cybercity" concerns about pornography from other sources

Yea, Winnipeg!

When you go, folks. You've Moved our cover ("Winnipeg: a city of survivors," *Atlas*, February 22). As it's not enough that Don Cherry only banters the words of our five city of individual heroes, now one of the national pages of Canada's national newspaper heralds the same.

Danny Solari,
Winnipeg

Nameless heroes

It's indicative of the relative value that we place on our veterans that one of the pictures in your article "Nameless heroes" (*World*, May 22) identifies the high-profile veterans group leader Cliff Davidson, but does not identify E. A. (Brooks) Smith, recipient of the Victoria Cross, standing next to him.

P. D. G. Barnhouse,
Ottawa AB

"Outraged"

I was outraged to see my name included in your cover "The enemy within" (May 6). I was never interviewed for the article. You identified me as a white-power advocate, and stated that I had spoken at a meeting in the University of Guelph in 1990, but the topic of my talk was not reported. The article "white-power" however, invited the reader to imagine Ku Klux Klan robes and had mentioned denunciations of minorities. The facts are less dramatic. I was a popular, my talk dealt with Jewish life—a luxury Canada, deep in debt, can no longer afford—and integration. I offered a radically dictatorial proposal that

Canadian immigration policy should be set according to the wishes of the majority of Canadians, as determined in a referendum. No self-respecting white power advocate could go along with this.

Paul Fossom,
Research Director,
Centres for Foreign Aid Rights Inc.,
Babcock, Ont.

Differing opinions

In June, I will complete my second year as a resident student at Brockton Hall. The school life described in your article "The price of privilege" (*Cover*, May 15) is not one that I recognize. I have not experienced the "milieu rock-solid" described. The only restriction I often feel is one of time. There always seems to be so much to do and so few hours. There are so many scholars at Brockton Hall that I wish you had chosen to give equal space to them.

Ashley Walsh,
Toronto

In your article on private schools, you quote Upper Canada College principal Douglas Binkley saying "The attraction of Upper Canada College is that your child will be going to school with kids who are going to be successful because of hard work and healthy background." I heard this same spiel when I attended Brockton Hall from 1974 to 1979. Yet most of the women I graduated with are no more "successful" than their public school counterparts. In fact, a significant number of those 1979 graduates did not make it to, or through, university. Success, regardless of how you define it, is not factored any more by the private school pick-up than it is by the public school experience. Despite such propaganda, success is all part of the private school dream, too.

Jim McDonald,
Irvine, Calif.

My aged silver mother in Saskatoon hates such emphasis on John Deere tractors, Emmett Hall and Ramon Huysheys, despite our public school system's affluence and modest budget. A well-rounded curriculum? Farley Mowat and Jack Mitchell also walked its halls. Nonetheless, our school also fills a barren role as an emergency high school dealing with its non-city problems. It would seem the public school system, like its private counterparts, can adjust to the changing needs of our society. Nassau Collegiate celebrates its 80th anniversary with a reunion this summer. Most important, those of us attending will do so with no sense of having missed key opportunities in life because we did not have the right classmates, or the right teachers.

Steven Thayer,
Saskatoon



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LETTERS

A veteran's thanks

Having travelled to the Netherlands in a plane full of veterans, I walk in unison to you (my publisher for your Special Report "Victory at Europe" (May 1)). It's just great to see the battle for Dordrecht acknowledged especially because of the 15 Stormont, Dundas and Gengarry Highlanders and 25 other Canadian soldiers who died there.

Rev. Rick Dolnik,
Guelph, Ont.

As a member of the Canadian Forces stationed in Europe, I had the wonderful opportunity to attend the May 6 remembrance ceremony at the Canadian War Cemetery in Groenbeek, Netherlands. I was surprised by the large number of Canadian veterans and their families who made the long journey to remember their fallen comrades. Shortly after the arrival of Prime Minister Jean Chretien and members of the Dutch Royal Family, the Canadian national anthem was played. All the Canadians stood and sang, the pride I felt cannot be put into words. I have participated in many Remembrance Day ceremonies during my career, but never felt such sorrow for the loss of life, and such appreciation towards our veterans. Remembrance Day will hold a more significant place in my heart forever.

Col. J.N. Youngblood
Geldersloot, Germany

Barbara Jarisl finally pays tribute to Canada as serving in the Second World War ("A great love for Canadians shared," Column) but how could Italy have been omitted from the fields of action? Yes, Canadians were there, more than 5,000 are still out there.

R.B. Michalski,
Toronto

A polarizing issue

Since the essence of good parenting is to provide circumstances that bring out the best in children, the father charged with spanking his child ("Spanking on trial," Canada, May 6) should have changed the circumstances—treatment, car, food or loved children, preoccupied adults—that were proving to be so unhelpful for his child

at that time. The debate around this issue once again polarizes those who think that children should simply be forced to fit into the adult world, and those who think that children first need a world matched to their own developmental needs before they are able to join the adult world.

Barbara Gahmer-Nichols,
Kelowna, B.C.

I am glad that David Peterson, the American charged with assault for spanking his child, and his wife, Paula, do not have any



YE-Gez in Montreal: pride and acknowledgment

hard feelings towards Canada. People in Canada do speak their children if they need something to encourage themselves or others. I was shocked, but I remember the verbal assaults more, and those wounds are far deeper.

Alinda Loe,
Pretoria

The real issue in this case is about the humiliation and degradation this little girl suffered when her father put her on the trunk of the car and whipped her in public in order to carry out the punishment. Should parents ever strike their children or discipline them in this fashion? I think not.

S.J. Rowell,
Toronto

Rachel Peterson, the little five-year-old girl who was spanked in public, view her father, has to live with the memories of her father's arrest on her mother's birthday and the medical examination of her behind by strangers. Personally, I would have preferred the spanking. Yes, kids must be protected from violence, both physical and psychological. But let's be clear: Our society

and its mechanisms are not coming more harm to the kids we aim to protect.

Doug Charnoy,
Guelph, Ont.

Canadian identity

I am fed up with the nation, reported by Peter C. Newman in his May 6 column, that the Canadian identity is associated with medicine ("The next debate—how to get medicine"). Are you telling me that my ancestors who passed in Upper Canada and later in the West weren't Canadians because they didn't have medicine? And that if someday Canada can't afford medicine, then we will no longer be Canadians?

Dore Zborot,
Calgary

Peter C. Newman offers no real solution to medicine's problems. Who wouldn't love a government program that pays for 100 per cent of essential medical care 100 per cent of the time? But who can afford it? Prime Minister Jean Chretien and Newman agree that everyone will be treated equally and that one should not be able to buy better health care. But then Chretien was leading to medicine as he stated—and the waiting lines lengthen and new technological treatments are ignored. Being poor is not equally becoming equally badly. The real essence of medicine are the Christians and Newman who insist that our medicine (the 1960s system) should never change. If we don't change medicine, we risk losing it.

Dr. Robert McNeill,
Calgary

Humorous facts

You write that Josh Friend will receive the Stephen Leacock Award for humor "in Orillia, Ont., Leacock's birthplace" (Passages, May 15). Well, Leacock was born in Hampshire, England, in 1869, and came to Canada in 1876 with his parents. He bought his house in Orillia much later, when he was teaching at McGill University in Montreal.

Guy Spivack,
Ottawa

Markus's statements make sense, but letters may be delayed for size and clarity. Please specify names, address and phone numbers in queries. Write letters to the Editor, *Weekend magazine*, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7. Fax: (416) 593-7230. E-mail: 36_letters@weekend.ca

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Naturally The Best

MAY/JUNE 5, 1991

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COLUMN



A case against Rock's gun controls

BY DIANE FRANCIS

The Liberals should immediately scrap their ill-conceived proposed gun-control law because facts and experiences here and in other countries show that such legislation does not work. Liberal Justice Minister Allan Rock has done Canadians a disservice by offering up a half-baked proposal that also transgresses civil rights and that may cost up to \$200 million to implement. In fact, it is possible that Rock's secondary legislation will encourage people to buy guns, not discourage them from doing so.

In a recent Fraser Institute study debuting the notion that gun controls work, business administration professor Gary Mauser at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., wrote "There is no factual support for the claim that firearms registration can help the police solve crimes. The New Zealand government decided to discontinue firearms registration in 1983 after the New Zealand Police Commissioner recommended its termination since they had not found it useful." In fact, "registration diverts police away from more important duties." And in Australia, "more than 40 per cent of firearms have not been registered even after decades of requirements that they be so."

What's also disturbing about Rock's recommendations is the idea of a central database containing information about which households possess guns and which do not. Clearly, this will become a handy guide for criminals. The registry—which would undoubtedly lead to my list on the black market—would inform burglars or rapists which homes and offices could be safely robbed or raided and which could not be. The registry would also become a nifty directory as to where guns could be stolen.

Canada already has explicit restrictions on gun ownership. To buy a gun you must get a Firearms Acquisition Certificate at a cost of \$20. You must also subject yourself to a full character investigation by police, and a three-hour examination costing \$100 and then wait

Canada already has enough restrictions on guns. Any more are nonsense because the link to crime rates is questionable.

at least 30 days for your weapons. Ifasters also need to purchase a training licence, while handgun owners have had to retrain their guns since 1984 and, in the past 20 years, have had to join a gun club as well.

To me, owning a gun is a legitimate right, but I would impose a mandatory 30-year prison term—in addition to the punishment for the actual offence—on anyone convicted of a crime while armed. That would include any armed criminal, even one caught in the course of an act of selling narcotics in a street corner or shoplifting. That deterrent would deter most criminals. Of course, it would cut up the drug-dealer or drugbuyer, but their behavior cannot be changed by law anyway.

More restrictions than we now have are nonsense because the link between gun controls and crime rates is questionable. Firearms gun controls in the United Kingdom in 1988 were followed by dramatic increases in crimes involving firearms. Controls are stricter in Canada than in the United States and yet—believe it or not—the homicide rate is greater in the Northwest Territories than in Alaska, higher in Alberta than in Montana, as well as being higher in Saskatchewan than in North Dakota. (If

course, homicides in big U.S. cities result in considerably more murders per capita involving guns than in Canada. But in my opinion, this violence is mostly confined to urban and has to do principally with America's widespread narcotics use.) And there are no sharp homicides caused by stablings in Canada as by guns. Using Rock's more flawed logic, Ottawas should try to reduce homicides by banning knives.

Based on a survey in Mauser's study, it is thought that one in three households has a firearm. Broken down by type, there are between five and six million rifles and shotguns in Canada and one million handguns. Ottawa estimates that the administrative costs of registering handguns is currently \$62 apiece, which means registering the million handguns could alone cost a staggering \$60 million.

That taxpayer expense is hardly justified when it comes to Rock's bogus argument that the law will reduce accidents and suicides. Using his same flawed logic, the registration of automobiles should have stopped the slaughter on the highways. But it hasn't. What has helped is a crackdown on drunken drivers which, at the very least, removed bad drivers from the roads, possibly saving lives.

In 1992, some 196,535 Canadian residents died from all causes, with only 8,800 due to accidents. While there were 1,148 deaths from firearms, only 86 of these were accidental compared to the 11,443 who died in car crashes, 738 from poisoning, 736 from drowning or suffocation, 528 from fires and 124 from medical mistakes. Using Rock's more flawed logic, Ottawas should reduce accidental deaths by banning automobiles or banning health care.

Statistics are a similar story. In 1991, of the 5,569 suicides committed in Canada only 31 per cent, or 1,138 were carried out by gun. If people intending to kill themselves don't have access to a gun, they will find another way to commit suicide.

Japan has virtually banned firearms, but has one of the highest suicide rates in the world.¹ Mauser points out: "Like-wise, Americans are armed to the teeth and have more violent armed crime than Canada, but they have a lower suicide rate. Despite such compelling research discouraging guns, the federal government has continued to support a policy that has no rational basis."

Rock and his justice department should be drilled for not doing their homework, especially since the Canadian evidence against his type of gun controls is right here in Canada. Despite the fact that Ottawa has been forced to register handguns since 1984, gun-related crime has remained relatively constant because these restrictions have not prevented criminals from getting handguns. Tougher controls and handgun bans will merely drive the street value of weapons and make gun smuggling more lucrative than ever.

Registering guns is like putting a target on a gun. There has to be extra criminal hands. Those of us who are armed will become targets of gun thieves, while the unarmed among us will become sitting ducks for all thieves. On balance, I'd rather have a gun

The restaurants in tiny Senluis, Saskatchewan, are reflecting in their town hall to discuss community business, not a steel meat and potatoes dinner and listen to Gerry Duffy, a guest speaker from the Banquashville, Tennessee, Owners of Alberta. There are serious activists among the crowd in Senluis, a village of 94 people, 200 km west of Saskatoon. They include a couple of gun collectors who arrive armed with a copy of Bill C-68, federal Justice Minister Allan Rock's gun-control legislation, as well as a document that purports to show how the proposed registration of all rifles and shotguns to standard Communist stockpile threatens a population.

But there are also retired farmers like 78-year-old Thane May who wears a single .22 rifle that he bought for \$5 in 1955. "We shot some geese and rabbits with it," allows May. He says he has no objection in principle to registering his rifle, although he objects to paying for it. And to any cost, he says, registration will be "useless" as a measure to fight crime. "It's sort of an apple-pie thing," adds Gary Stewart, a 65-year-old rural councillor, lawyer and hunter. "Every body's got bringing in legislation that would stop gunshots or violence against women or people at death. But this is just a bunch of bulls—and it's similar and mirrors to make it look like a list is happening."

Rock rode into the gun-control fray as a crusader against violence and a defender of the victims of crime. It seemed a perfect political issue for a prime minister's party, a body whose members for the Liberal leadership. Polls showed that most Canadians supported tighter restrictions on guns and gun ownership, a survey of 1,500 people by Angus Reid Associates last September put the level of support at 70 per cent across the country, ranging from a low of 51 per cent in Alberta to a high of 83 per cent in Quebec. True, gun had always been bedeviled opposition to gun law reform—although it had usually been dismissed as a fringe, redneck movement with limited national appeal. But Rock clearly appreciated the potential strength of the opposition to his legislation. Now what was supposed to be a relatively easy legislative victory has instead turned into trench warfare—and the battle has divided Rock's political support (page 35).

The justice minister's supporters include hardcore gun lobbyists—as well as hunters and hunters like the ones in Senluis. Many joined with target shooters and gun collectors to form a host of new firearms owner groups in the past year. Through attending rallies, signing petitions and lobbying their MPs, they have won support across the political spectrum, from most Reformers and New Democrats to Parliament, to moderate members of Rock's own Liberal caucus and the governments of the three Prairie provinces and the two Territories. At the same time, Rock has come under fire from legal experts like those at the Canadian Bar Association, who said they supported the principle of registration but expressed concerns about the constitutionality of inspection provisions in Bill C-68. And even the Canadian Medical Association told the Commonsense committee in early May that, while it supported most aspects of the legislation, universal registration of all rifles and shotguns seemed licensed an "that group of users which poses the least risk to society." Reform MP Jan Brown of Calgary—an opponent of Bill C-68—claims that the medical



Farmers, hunters and firearms enthusiasts are turning the gun-control debate into trench warfare

BY MARY NEMETH

and her association statements came out a personal blow to Rock.

That may be overstating the matter. But the justice minister has certainly received a lot of his personal political capital in Bill C-68. He has to win the fight over the legislation—and probably will. As many as 25 Liberal MPs have publicly criticized the bill despite threats of censure. (The three Liberals who voted against the legislation on second reading in the House of Commons were relieved of their caucus positions.) But even if all 25 Liberals vote against the legislation on third reading, expected in mid-June, the government—with the support of many Blue Quebecers who appears to have enough votes to prevail. Rock also retains the key support of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. "Some principles are worth going right to the wall over, and this is one of them," a senior official in the Prime Minister's Office told Maclean's last week. There may also be a political calculation involved: much of the opposition has come from areas of the country where Liberal support is weak anyway. Perhaps just as important, the Liberals lack a powerful last year for backing of proposed social program reforms—and some inside the party say they need to demonstrate the political will to keep commitments in the face of intense opposition. But keeping this promise will take a toll. It could hand the Reform party a potent issue to carry into the



Reform: "We've been shameless over hunting, called everything from thoughtless to reckless. But we're just the way most deer"

next election, especially in many rural areas throughout the country, and it could cause lingering bitterness inside the Liberal caucus.

In what appeared to be largely an effort to win over his own party colleagues, Rock has already broken a serious promise. On May 12, he told the justice committee that he would amend the legislation to remove police powers to inspect the homes of people who register 10 or fewer firearms. He said collectors should be able to pass on prohibited weapons that are heirlooms to their children. And Rock said police should have the option to lay a lesser charge against firearm collectors who agree to register their guns—a statutory committee offence that will carry a maximum \$2,000 fine and six months in jail, and would not saddle the convicted person with a criminal record. Rock said that police could still choose to charge offenders who widely refuse to register their rifles and shotguns with an indictable offence as originally envisioned in Bill C-68—a charge that carries a maximum penalty of five years in jail. And he also insisted on retaining what he called the "commonsense" of his bill, a plan to extend mandatory registration—which still now has applied only to handguns—to cover all so-called long guns by the year 2003.

In according his legislation, Rock doused some of the criticism of his legislation. But he did not go far enough to win over firearm-owner groups or the provincial governments opposed to his bill. And his own caucus last week remained divided. Ontario Liberal MP John O'Reilly opposes Bill C-68 in its present form—although he is still willing to join the final version presented to Parliament. "Mr. Rock's changes satisfy some of my concerns," said O'Reilly, adding that a survey he did in his largely rural riding of Victoria/Hillier found that 80 per cent of his constituents oppose registration. "But my main concern is that some 80-year-old farmer can be arrested and charged criminally for not registering his .22." Rock's proposals, he said, "haven't done anything to change that."

Even in its amended form, though, Bill C-68, retains the support of a wide array of gun-control advocates, including nations of violence and some women's groups, church of police and, it seems, although pro-gun lobbyists dispute poll results—the quiet majority of Canadians. Advocates have sought vigorously to counter what they insist is a

distorted perception that opposition to gun control is growing. Winny Colner, the Toronto-based president of the Coalition for Gun Control, argues that "just because you have 900,000 gun owners doesn't mean that a rifle does not mean they are representative of the whole community." Still, she says, "some 900 are so overboarded by this show of strength that it has frightened them into submission." Other gun-control advocates, meanwhile, have urged legislators to consider the harm caused by gun violence. Patricia de Villiers, president of Canadian Against Violence Everywhere, Advocating an Transformation (CAVEAT), told the justice committee about her daughter Nina, a 15-year-old McMaster University student who was shot to death in 1995 by a man who was out on bail on a sexual assault charge. And she denounced those critics of Bill C-68 who are preoccupied with the incoherence of gun registration. "Let me tell you about incoherence," she said. "Let the voices of the dead speak for the living."

In what has become an increasingly emotional and partisan debate, the two sides share little common ground. The government says it will cost \$50 billion over the years to set up a firearms registration system; pro-gun forces put the figure at upwards of \$300 million. The government says that long gun owners will eventually

have to pay \$900 every five years for a licence to own firearms (as an incentive to get

COVER

themselves only, the fee will range from zero to \$50 in the first year, and another \$200 fee—again, zero to \$70—to register as easy as 10 of the guns they currently own. The registration fee for currently owned guns may rise to \$35, and it will cost more to register new guns or restricted weapons. Opponents claim that the fees will spiral as soon as the government recognizes the real cost of the registration system. Part of the cost discrepancy is due to a disagreement over the numbers of guns in Canada. The government says there are about seven million in circulation, pro-gun forces claim there are at least 15 million.

The issue is often framed along regional lines. And certainly, events in Central Canada—including the widely publicized shooting death of 23-year-old Georgia Latona in a trendy Toronto club in April, 1994—played a significant part in galvanizing public support for a tougher gun law. In the same year, the massacre of 14 female students at Montreal's École polytechnique in December, 1989, provided much of the impetus for the last round of gun-control legislation, introduced by then-Prime Minister Kim Campbell in 1990.

All the same time, some gun owners say a mid-entirety within describes the debate. On the one hand, they argue, are Canadians who hunt and target-shoot, who have grown up with guns and know how to handle them safely. On the other hand are what one B.C. gun owner called the "cappuccino-enthusiast" urbanites, city dwellers who fear firearms because they know about them only through news headlines. The pro-gun camp argues that criminals, packing illegal arms smuggled from the United States, will not register their guns anyway, and so the government should put its time law-enforcing gun owners' obligations, legislation designed to modify urban Canadians. George Middleton, 36, who, along with his 10-year-old husband, Doug, runs a business in Seattle selling cameras, is among the left-leaning opponents. Some women's groups are pressing for gun control, but Middleton, who also hunts and target-shoots, "And because there has been problems in urban Montreal, they say all women want this," Middleton said. "But they're not speaking for me. As a woman from the rural West, I have no fear of guns. It's just not a problem in our area."

Gun-control advocates contend that this sort of legal games are stalling just year. A majority, they say, of Canadians would agree in principle that because makes weapons used in crimes can be traced to their original owners. Police will be better prepared to investigate if they have as much information as possible about weapons in a home, they argue. And police cannot be expected to trace illegal arms of the same way, they argue, which ones are legal. Advocates also dispute the argument that tighter gun controls make less sense in rural areas. They say

crimes of passion committed when a weapon is handy—including many domestic murders and suicides—are just as much a problem in rural Saskatchewan as they are in a urban Vancouver or Montreal. And they point out that support for long-gun registration spans regional and urban-rural lines: a poll of 682 Albertans commissioned by provincial Justice Minister Brian Evans, a staunch opponent of Bill C-68, found that 61 per cent of the Alberta population, including most people in rural areas, support registration.

One small city in Alberta, though, holds a special place in the heart of the anti-gun legislation campaign. Wainwright, population 4,700, is just outside a military base in farm and oil country 130 km northeast of Edmonton. And it was there that George Dally, the speaker at the Seattle meeting,



helped to organize a rally on May 28, 1994. An estimated 2,500 people showed up for what organizers claim was the model for dozens of pro-gun rallies that followed across the country.

Dally, 44, says the Wainwright rally was originally intended to protest plans of Campbell's gun law, which received royal assent in December, 1991. But what really sparked interest in the rally, Dally now says, was Jack's statement to reporters in April, 1994, that he came to office as minister of justice with the view that "the only people in this country who should have guns are police officers and soldiers." Jack went on to say that he had reconsidered that, but his "eyes were opened to a variety of perspectives." But the most sustained hatred lines that the pro-gunners had a recent appeal to discontinue firearms ownership.

The Cools in his Gun Control's Cabinet critics that the prospect of wholesale gun

confiscation is "nothing short of ludicrous," and would never win wide public support. "I'm not," she says, "I'm as much legislative as I am a politician. And we're setting up our laws and people's paths in urban communities, the next sign is taking everyone's car away." Cullen continues that opposition to Bill C-68 is being led by lobbyists who do not represent the average labourer or farmer. And she says that "the gun lobby is very deliberate trying to link gun control to confiscation" in order to frighten them.

Certainly, there are many people involved in the campaign to fight Bill C-68 who at once the confiscation scenario. Among them is Mary Grouse, 49, who holds gun licenses at the home outside Wainwright and was the founding president of the Responsible Firearms Owners of Alberta group that grew out of last year's rally in Wainwright. "The Liberal government has a mandate to disarm this country," Grouse



Middleton at Seattle shooting range, leader and confessor of Calgary gun show (left). "They say all women want this. But they're not speaking for me. As a woman from the rural West, I have no fear of guns. It's just not a problem in our area."

TIGHTENING THE RULES

THE LAW NOW

Canada's current gun laws, in effect since Jan. 1, 1994, divide firearms into three main categories and set out requirements for each type. **Unrestricted:** Most common handgun and sporting rifles and shotguns. Private citizens don't take the 10-hour Canadian Firearms safety course, and pass a safety exam. They may then submit an application for a firearms acquisition certificate (FAC), which is reviewed by their local police department. Approval is not granted for at least 20 days to allow adequate investigation and prevent impulse buying. A successful applicant pays \$50 for an FAC, which is good for five years.

Restricted: Mostly handguns, and some military-style weapons, which require a 10-hour safety course, a criminal record check, and a collection of letters from people who know the applicant. In some cases, people who can prove that their lives are in danger and that police cannot provide adequate protection may also obtain restricted weapons. In addition to obtaining an FAC, buyers must also have to obtain a license to the gunned be kept at the address

on the registration and cannot be moved to a different location without approval, usually in the form of a carrying permit. **Prohibited:** All automatic weapons and about 30 types of semiautomatic weapons, including assault rifles, which can take large-capacity magazines and are designed to spray out bullets at close range. Such weapons are illegal unless owned before the date they were prohibited, at most cases 1976, 1982 or 1984.

THE NEW LAW

Bill C-68, Ottawa's proposed new gun-control legislation, will retain most of the existing regulations for buying a gun. Key changes:

- Extending registration to semiautomatic weapons, which accounts for about six million of the seven million legally owned guns in Canada. In addition, registration for all guns will have two components. The first covers a personal registration requirement for all gun owners (beginning on Jan. 1, 1996, all those who own a gun will have to obtain a license to possess firearms). The new disca-

will be to introduce "a kind of a new way of thinking about the safety of putting this country into a common system, and they don't say do away with electronics and the people can't take it." Dally says confirmation differently. He does contend that the government will continue buying new weapons with such new gun law. But he says that that is a misguided effort to regulate gun behavior, not a private to disarming. "About Dally? When you start talking about insurance and Criminal Code, it's not a private to disarming."

Dally, a welder at the Wainwright military base, is anxious to dispel the image of gun-law opponents as rednecks. He is opposed to the criminal use of firearms and to those of gun control, he says. It is just that current laws are tough enough, according to Dally—so tough, that fewer young people are taking up hunting each year, a trend he says could eventually cost businesses dealing in everything from guns to camping equipment millions of dollars annually.

At his hangar just outside Wainwright, Dally shows off his rifles and shotguns—as well as the locks on the door to a small room that he has built in his basement to store them. He has also hosted a group of local businessmen and farmers and a physician from the military base to discuss Bill C-68. "His grandson," issued the doctor, 38-year-old Gary Rattner, of the movement to fight Backin gun bill. "It's not for me to say" that gun law involved in the debate, 20-year-old Rattner. "I'm a western Canadian and it's my history and cultural background that I'm interested in—and my general distrust of the large political bureaucracies." And Dave Nelson, 38, a farmer and the current president of the Responsible Firearms Owners, complained that people "are on some kind of loose. We're been slanted over hunting, killed every thing that's in the way of the law. But we've just the way just over."

Although registration is the single most controversial element of the bill, other measures have come under fire. Bill C-68 would expand the list of prohibited weapons to include .35- or .30-caliber handguns, or handguns with barrel lengths of 105 mm or shorter (less than four inches). Current owners can keep them, trade them among themselves or sell them outside the country. But when they die, the guns must be destroyed. The exception provided for when by May 13 would allow col-



Confiscated guns: plans to register all million restricted firearms

estimated three million gun owners. Under the second component, the weapon itself must be registered by the gun owner. Registration will be good until Jan. 1, 1996, and will be completed by the end of 2005. Owners will be asked a registration certificate that will be valid as long as they own the weapon. Like the license, fees will be low at first—up to 10 cents for a new gun and up to \$10 for an existing gun. registration. If a gun is purchased before 1995, current gun registration regulations apply.

- Stricter criminal sanctions for failure to register. Penalties will range from a fine for individuals, up to \$5,000 for a corporation, to a fine for a person in prison for repeat offenders. A new section will be added to the Criminal Code creating the offense of illegally importing and trafficking in firearms, with jail sentences of up to 10 years.

A further sentence of five years for anyone convicted with a firearm, including attempted murder and robbery.

- A ban on weapons considered unsuitable for hunting or other sports, usually firearms designed for military purposes, they include the Ruger rifle made by Marv Karpis, a former 14 women in Montreal in 1980.

Among longtime friends of Justice Minister Allan Rock, it is known simply as the John Lennon Story—haunted by more than a quarter century of echoing. The year was 1968 and Rock, then a law student at the University of Ottawa and president of the student council, learned that the former Beatles was visiting Montreal for what was to become his famous farewell bid as in the Queen Elizabeth Hotel. Without further ado, Rock hopped into his yellow Volkswagen Beetle, drove to Montreal, made his way into Lennon's hotel room—and uttered him to the student council's peace conference. "I said him," recalls Rock, "but we had also invited Pierre Trudeau." Rock did not mention that there was probably even less chance of the prime minister attending the relatively minor student gathering than there was of the Beatles returning. Even at 22, Rock's rawness and powers of persuasion were enough. Lennon agreed, and several days later Rock, then student vice-president (though Lennon—who later became chief of staff to prime minister Brian Mulroney—met Lennon as he arrived by train. When Rock drove his guest back to the station later that day, several Beatles songs played on the radio, and Lennon sang along. Recalls Rock: "It was a magic moment." "It was a great coup," says Segal. "Alan was a shrewd and pro-se even then."

In many ways, that story sums up the elements that back the inside and face case when they talk about Allan Rock. To friends, it is proof of his drive, vision, persistence and persuasion. To foes, such as the growing number of opponents to Rock's gas-control legislation, it reveals the suspect soul of the hellbender, rockiness loving personal action they love to dispute. And if not all of that is true—Rock says he was outshined by 1969s happenstance after that he acquired "a really bad sense of self-importance"—Rock proudly and unapologetically describes himself still as "not just a Liberal, but a small Liberal who believes that there are things that government can do for people."

That message is not necessarily a popular one in an era when increasingly cynical voters tend to believe that the best government is the one that does the least. For gas warriors who suspect that Rock's ultimate goal is to rid Canada of all fumes, it is further evidence of their worst fears. And it is fuel for the people who call Rock, among other things, "Rockness," "Rockafella," "Rockness" and "Dirtier Rock." For Rock, the greatest clash provides several other messages in his continuing political education. One is that today's political friends are tomorrow's potential foes, witness the growing number of Liberal backbenchers who now cry out his gas-control bill, along with some members of the Blue Greenhouse who first publicly supported the legislation. Another lesson: Rock, faced in legal circles for his ability to hold conversations, is fast in poli-

COVER PROFILE

tics it is not possible to win over all of the people all of the time. A third lesson is that even the best-planned people can be caught off-guard. Rock was embarrassed recently by suggestions from legal experts that his bill would allow unacceptable and probably unconstitutional powers of search and seizure to police officers. He was forced to change the provision.

But perhaps the key political lesson for Rock may be a version of an old Chinese saying: he should think carefully about what he aims for, because he just may achieve it. Rock seems likely to push his gas-control legislation through as he wishes. The price may be his credibility in certain segments of the Liberal party, his popularity in much of rural Canada and, on the long term, an otherwise golden political future.

In the 26 years since meeting Lennon, Allan Rock's life has often seemed charmed beyond any reasonable measure. Bright, hardworking, charming, self-disciplined, surprisingly shy, a devoted family man and lawyer of rare ability, he is known among friends and colleagues as someone who almost always gets what he wants. And that, most agree, is nothing less than he deserves. "There are two kinds of people who are nothing less than they deserve," there are two kinds of people who are nothing less than they deserve.

ROCK ON THE FIRING LINE

Allan Rock—the golden boy of Chrétien's cabinet—is being put to the test

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH



The justice minister who, Lennon and Rock at the University of Ottawa peace conference, 1968 (left), recommended by other Liberal MPs to think Rock was close the bar, too fast, (above) paying reluctant attention to traditional political advice.



ple in this world," says Eleanor Cronk, a partner at Rock's former law firm, Finken Campbell Godfrey. "There are those who revere Allan Rock, and those who haven't yet met him. He is a trailblazer." That is true, given, but typical of the reaction Rock evokes from the notoriously glib Segal, a liberal Progressive Conservative who has seldom met a Liberal that he did not want to mock, calls Rock "that reverb of creativity someone from that party who really and truly is a person of principle."

So far, what Rock has wanted—and achieved—has included a marriage and family life that others cite as idyllic, a \$20,000-a-year law practice that he walked away from two years ago to enter politics, and, since then, a reputation as arguably the most active and as passionate member of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's cabinet. Now, that last quality is being put to the test with an intensity that few Liberals anticipated when Rock first assumed the outlines of his legislation last November. The Liberals knew they would face a storm of protest, but gas control and rural riders were bearing and target shooting are part of the fabric of

country life. But they did not expect that aspects of the bill would be denounced by mainstream groups including the Canadian Medical Association and the Canadian Bar Association, which questioned its constitutionality. Nor did they anticipate the depth of anger it would arouse among their own backbenchers, 20 of whom criticized aspects of the bill during parliamentary estimates last month.

Almost inevitably, as the debate has polarized the two sides, some of the comments have become personal. According to one, divided as it has been with MPs, Rock made a great show of smiling different views—but only paid attention to those that suited him. His legislation, they suggest, shows him for what he is: a highly lawyer who has spent all his life around other Ottawa or Toronto, and has no understanding of rural traditions and values. Liberal MP John O'Reilly, from the Ontario ridge of Victoria/Haliburton says that he discussed his concerns with Rock over at least half a dozen dinners. Now, says O'Reilly, with a trace of bitterness, "people say he didn't consult. Well, he consulted, but he didn't pay my attention. To not pay attention to rural Canada is a dangerous situation for any party." And O'Reilly goes further. Asked about frequent speculation in Ottawa that Rock will eventually be a leading candidate to replace Chrétien as leader, O'Reilly says "I don't think he'll get a vote in rural Canada."

Told later about O'Reilly's comments, Rock sighs "I understand the way that John feels," says Rock, "but he has to understand that I am not going to change the way that I feel. We cannot stop governing just because it makes some people angry."

There have been easier times to be Allan Rock—witnessing about all of his life up to the moment he introduced gas-control legislation. Born and raised in the downtown Ottawa area of Sandy Hill, his father, Thomas, was a career military officer. The family, which has five children, is very close-knit. Rock usually sleeps over on visits to Toronto at his father's downtown condominium. His mother died last year. As a student, he was above re-creation, although he excels his own lack of ability in mathematics and sciences. He knew from an early age that he wanted to be a lawyer, one streamer he says smiling, was that there was no science, or math, or heavy lifting involved. "Other, many sciences included what he calls 'the verbal aspect, the logic part.' I like sitting down with the client and hearing about their perspective, going into court and arguing with the other side."

Above all, the quality that has helped Rock is a single understanding that leaders on decisions. Since coming to Ottawa, he has become famous—or infamous—among staff members and senior department employees for his round-the-clock calls. As a page, he can hold an eight-minute ride—considered the standard among senior staffers—for up to 20 miles. And after Rock announced plans to bring in gas-control legislation, he summoned himself so thousands by the subject that three cabinet department officials who has spent more than 15 years

By pushing through his legislation, Rock merited a gilt-edged future

studying the issue needed. "After a month of study, the guy was telling me things I didn't know."

But despite his obvious gifts as a legislator, and his involvement in the university student council, Rock reveals he had relatively little interest in politics until recently. His only participation in politics while at university, he recalls, was "working the phones for [Liberal leadership candidate] Eric Farnham for a couple of nights in 1988 on a tour in a friend's car. He did not become a card-carrying Liberal until 1990, although he says he always identified with the party ideologically."

Instead, Rock devoted himself almost exclusively to his law practice, and his rise in Ontario legal circles was steady, and seemed effortless. "After poring over well in advance that he makes it all look easy," says his closest friend, Toronto lawyer David Rockbach, "it isn't." Rock became a partner at his firm in 1978, the same year he met his wife, Debbie Hansen, who was working at Ford.

Campbell. The two were married in 1983, and have a 10-year-old daughter, Lauren (with seven-year-olds, Stephen and Andrew as well as Jason Z), a son by Debbie's first marriage. In 1993, Rock was elected treasurer and chief executive officer of the Upper Canada Law Society, the association in Ontario's legal community.

Still, it was not for his law-bearing interest in politics. It is unlikely that many Canadian outside legal circles would have heard of Allan Rock—and he might be happy that way. "He had reached the pinnacle of his profession, and he thought there had to be some new challenges out there," says Rockbach. "But I don't think he is all that thrilled with the demands a makes on his personal life, or the spotlight it puts on him." Rock's own explanation for his decision to run for and his wife were becoming increasingly frustrated, with policies in general in Canada, but decided that "we did not have the right new ideas if we were not prepared to do some things."

Now, the circumstances of his arrival in politics were the stuff of legend. He and Debbie joined the local Diabroche Centre Liberal riding association in 1989. When he ran for the association in 1993, the riding was held by Minister Michael Wilson at a point when the collapse of the Tories was far from certain. "People were just distraught when Allan announced his decision," says Paul McKeown, a

"We cannot stop governing just because it makes some people angry"

Then, Rock declined an offer from Chrétien to designate him as a "trial" candidate, which would have allowed him to bypass the nomination process. Instead, he went head-to-head against a candidate who was an anti-abortion activist supported by the entire right-wing conservative Rock was the minister, and Joe Cram, a far-right religious president who helped him and ran his subsequent election campaign, "the same way he wins at everything: by working harder, longer and better than everyone else." The marathon jogger literally ran from door to door to meet as many constituents as possible. "The rest of us were hailing and puffing, and he guy says they break a sweat," says Cram. Rock won the riding by more than



Rock being heckled by protesters in Windsor, Ont.; juggling in Ottawa (opposite); bright, hardworking, meticulously sharp, he is known as someone who almost always gets what he wants

15,000 votes over the second place finisher.

Almost from the day he arrived in Ottawa in October 1993, as a bilingual MP, he has been cited as a potential successor to Chrétien. And despite the uproar about gun legislation, all that remains true is that any speculation about the future includes two caveats. Rock and the Liberals must overcome the split his last election has created both across the country and within the party, and he must decide whether his own political ambitions extend beyond the next election.

Neither outcome is clear. Rock's bill will go to third and final reading in the House of Commons in the next future—likely by mid-June. Even if reluctant backbench MPs opposed to the bill are brought back inside, all firing towards him will remain. That will be added to the momentum already felt towards Rock by other Liberal MPs who think he has been too far too long, without paying sufficient attention to traditional political cautions, beyond the cabinet table, several ministers say that Rock has been aggressive criticism on several occasions from Sheila Copps, the deputy prime minister and environment minister. Although the two should be ideological allies, they are also two of the most often discussed candidates to eventually lead the party. And, voters are told

Ontario-born MP, "Rock has risen in his within this party as he is eager going to get."

That may become true by Rock's own chair. Even before he was elected, he talked of serving a "tour of duty" in Ottawa. His career path has often been peppered with references to "the very short time there is to do things here" and "my movement that I am not here for long." Although such phrases could be well right, none of them is certain. Rock feels that once again, answering questions about his future by saying only "I have not made a decision, and

when I do so, it will be after discussing it with my wife and children."

That reluctance to speculate on his future has been typical of Rock through high times and recent pressures. Shortly after becoming justice minister, he talked about how surprised he was by the "real time, intensity and centrality of change" in his portfolio. He was rightly uncomfortable at the partisan rhetoric and cold and frost in the House of Commons. And he chafed at the lengthy separations from his family, who stayed behind in Toronto for the first six months. Now, the family has rented a house in Ottawa's Glebe district, and Hansson has a part-time job as the Ottawa Crown attorney's office. Since their arrival, friends say that Rock is notably happier. In fact, the only obvious loss is Justice Minister Paul Martin Jr., Rock's closest friend in cabinet, who says he is still missing him. "The regular dinner conversation of the new team in Ottawa who likes going across dinner once more than I do."

Rock, says one of his staff members, "is intensely devoted to his family, and equally intensely private about them." In fact, Rock set

down limits his children to public events, and does not want other family members either photographed or interviewed. When he brought his wife to the Ottawa River Gallery annual dinner last month, it marked the first public function she has attended with him since his election.

But not all of Rock's reservations about political life have vaned, and the gun debate has strengthened his resolve in some ways, and added to his frustration in others. In an interview last November, on the day he had adopted his gun-control plan to the House of Commons, he acknowledged that he had "liberally" been more into a corner than a corner that no more changes would be considered. "We have talked enough about the essentials, and now it is time to act," he said. In fact, Rock is particularly sensitive to charges that he speeds too much time consulting. He was especially upset when Bloc Québécois MP and legal critic Pierrette Venne described him in the House of Commons last year as "the master of consultation." "I don't want," says Rock, "to be that kind of developer, but some merit."

During the gun-control debate, he spoke for more time with opponents of his plans than with advocates. "People talk as though Allan Rock and I are best buddies," says Wendy Galka, the president of one of the most effective lobby groups, the Coalition for Gun Control. "The reality is that I was almost impossible to see him for the first six weeks because he was so busy seeing people from the other side." In fact, Rock went several times to a dining room because he said, "I knew that if people were going to take me seriously, they would want to know that I actually had picked up a firearm, knew the hell of a Magnum, knew the record of a shotgun, so I went out and blasted away."

And now, Rock intends to do the equivalent to the gun lobby. Despite the size of his opposition, he will almost certainly succeed because he has one happy important ally, Chrétien. "The Prime Minister," said one senior adviser last week, "looks very strongly about both this issue and the importance of supporting his minister." Rock will need that help, now and in the future. Within the Liberal caucus, some backbench members discuss the present controversy as a rare luncheon compared with the storm they say will erupt when Rock introduces legislation, at an unspecified time later this year, that will provide special punishment for individuals convicted of "crimes of hate."

In the meantime, Rock remains relentlessly upbeat, about both the gun-control legislation and politics in general. "I love what I do," he says. "The level of energy is incredible." So are the demands. "I think you need to see Rock several times a week, says that his friend told him recently to suggest that they meet in either 1995 or 1996, where Rock has conferences. "This is my sacrifice for Canada," Rockbach jokes. "To see my best friend, I have to leave the continent." More to the point, Rockbach says, "This is a life of the father. You look at him now and you see traces of his father (he) but he was not the same five years ago."

Yet that Rock asks for much support in facing up to either the demands of the job, or his critics. Perhaps his defining moment came last September, when he spontaneously grabbed a microphone on Parliament Hill and made a speech denouncing his plans to more than 20,000 firearms gun owners. Briefly, when he took a task last January to a Liberal meeting in Winnipeg, he arrived to discover several hundred anti-gun ideological protesters gathered outside the hotel. Rock got out of his taxi a half block from the door, walked up to the group and said, "Hi, who are you, waking late?" The crowd stood, stunned into silence, long enough for Rock to approach one member carrying a bullhorn. "May I?" he asked. Then, he gave a five-minute speech explaining his position, answered several questions, and went into the meeting. "I don't think I was a single convert," he said. "But I could not ignore myself as an issue I felt as strongly about as I did not try."

Allan Rock will not have to forgive himself on that issue, and he can and will forgive those who disagree with him, even within the Liberal party. "We have to move beyond this," he says. But the key questions for a rest with a sense of reason and an otherwise gilt-edged political future are how much Rock likes the taste of political victory, and how his opponents respond to their defeat. □



Saskatchewan gets the call

What if they called an election and no one cared? In this age of rampant voter cynicism, where the public's first voting instinct is to throw the bums out, the idea of a constitutional election is almost unheard. But last week, when Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow did the expected and announced an election for June 21, the only evidence pointed to a second majority government for the incumbent New Democrats. Before the campaign even started, the question on most minds was not whether the NDP would win, but by how much.

Only four months before Romanow's decision to announce a strategy, he had been at a strategy-pitched house at his nomination meeting in Saskatoon, an Angus Reid/CHC poll had already taken the wind out of the election sails of both the provincial Liberals and Tories. The survey found Romanow's New Democrats leading along with 51 per cent support among decided voters, identical to the party's popular vote in 2001, which produced an NDP landslide. A distant second, with 30 per cent support heading into the 58-day campaign, were Lynda Haverstock's Liberals. In third and fading fast, were the once mighty but now disoriented provincial Tories, who had just 15 per cent support and were struggling to come up with a full slate of 58 candidates. Obviously, however, Romanow said he felt confident publicly what NDP support showed privately. Said Romanow, trying not to sound overconfident, "I think voter intentions in the Reid poll reflect so much reality in this province."

Heading into the election, the statistics in the legislature were: NDP 53 seats, Tories nine, Liberals three, one Independent and one seat vacant. If the pollsters' numbers hold, Romanow should coast back to power and add to his reputation as one of Canada's most durable politicians. First elected in 1987, Romanow was deputy premier in Allan Rock's government from 1987 to 1989. Defeated in Gerald Davy's Tory sweep that year, Romanow, a lawyer, returned to the legislature in 1989, replaced Halderson as leader a year later and then coached his revenge on the Tories by leading the NDP to a landslide win in 1991. By comparison, his opponents are political neophytes. Haverstock, 46, is a psychologist who was the last Liberal elected in 1991. Since then, the Liberals have added two more members, one in a 1994 by-election and one another who crossed the floor from the government back benches. Bill Boyd, a 58-year-old farmer and rookie MLA, was the Tory leadership bid. Nasimfar, inheriting a patch of troubles. Nine former and three current Tory MLAs have found chapters relating to their communications corporate allowances during the Davy government.

New Democrats also were in the driver's seat of the dominance of the party in Saskatchewan's birthplace of the NDP's formation: the

A confident Roy Romanow sets a June election



Romanow of his nomination meeting, one of Canada's most durable politicians

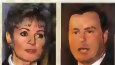
Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. In power for 38 of the past 54 years, the NDP's deep roots have made it Saskatchewan's natural governing party. With the federal NDP in tatters, the Ontario NDP seems ripe for seriously on the verge of a crushing defeat and British Columbia

Provincial Mike Harcourt's NDP government eases its crumbling. Romanow's New Democrats seem assured from the political sides mounting the party outside Saskatchewan.

In many respects, Romanow's first term perfectly reflected the moderate approach that has ensured his party's success. Elected in October, 1990, promising a balanced budget and prudent government, Romanow is plugging more of the same if re-elected. This spring, his government will become the first in Canada to balance its budget, eliminating an annual operating deficit of \$442 million it inherited from the Tories. But with the province still burdened by \$25 billion in government

debt, Romanow is telling voters not to expect major tax cuts. The NDP platform promises smaller budget deficits, starting with the fiscal year 1995-1996 and aiming through the year 2000—and proposes to supply the surplus revenues evenly among debt reduction, tax cuts and additional program spending. "When we took over four years ago, the province was virtually in Chapter 11 bankruptcy because of unsustainable tax cuts by the Tories in the 1980s," Romanow said. "We're not going to put ourselves in that position again."

What ranks the NDP's success kind of all the more remarkable is that Romanow's first term was not without political risks. The government



Haverstock, Boyd (right) for many, the biggest question is who will finish second

HONG KONG
wonders never cease

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A positive opening, another show. On May 17 of Ontario's provincial election campaign, Lyn McLeod powers into a conference room in Toronto's Royal York Hotel to deliver the results of daily briefings—an announcement about reinforcing the province's defenceless Workers' Compensation Board. The formal event proceeds smoothly, wearing a sensible grey business suit and her familiar pearl earrings, the Ontario Liberal leader stands on "Mount McLeod"—the carpeted, slouchy row used to give her added stature behind the podium—and speaks her lines crisply for the cameras.

But the accepted aftermath quickly turns sour. A party aide calls off presshounds, one abruptly prompting accusations that McLeod is running a doctored campaign, little from the media and therefore from the public. Clearly, that is not a perception the party wishes to foster. In a climate in which political loyalties are roughly as stable as the San Andreas Fault, voter intentions can shift in a single 30-second news clip.

The sheer volatility of Ontario's electorate is well large in the polling data. For weeks, the Liberals appeared likely to coast to victory on June 6 and log nearly five years of back-to-back government under New Democratic Premier Bob Rae. Malloy through the six-week campaign, surveys showed the Grds with a commanding lead over the second-gear Progressive Conservatives, led by Mike Harris, and the NDP trailing badly in third. In the back rooms, the Liberal brain trust could be heard claiming, "We make nothing for granted" like a choir director, trying to ward off the sense of complacency. If the mood lines hold, politicians said, McLeod would win a narrow majority, becoming the first woman premier in Ontario history—and arguably the most important woman in Canadian politics.

But the polling numbers were maverick-law suits. Indeed, as the election entered its final leg, the Liberal lead had evaporated. Various public and internal party polls put Harris and McLeod in a virtual dead heat—with the NDP squarely on the sidelines. Among the reasons: the defection of caucus members, once hard-core NDP supporters, to the Conservatives.

"It's like to say this has become a very tight horse race," says David MacNaughton, a Liberal candidate and party insider. "We have to bring the message into sharper focus." It's that old, old Liberals were last week priming

PROFILE

Having lost her lead, Liberal Lyn McLeod faces the fight of her life

BY MICHAEL POSNER

the finishing touches on a new set of campaign ads, aired separately at the Tory jaguar.

All along, of course, the Liberals knew their support would weaken. "You can't live through 1980 and think otherwise," says Bob MacNaughton, co-chairman of McLeod's campaign, referring to former Ontario premier David Peterson's stunning fall from grace that year and Rae's surprise victory. But few had expected that degree of erosion. Unlike 1980, however, political commentator Alan Goren, former chairman of Decima Research, McLeod had "inherited a vast amount of cash (campaign goodwill). A majority of the population identified the Liberals as the party that best represented the concerns of the average voter."

The misfortune, however, was largely unexpected. Rae, much admired personally, was perceived as the steward of a business administration that broke its word on a series of policy promises, from auto insurance to gambling. Conservative Harris, a good former golf pro, remained handicapped by the enduring stigma attached to former Tory prime minister

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ONTARIO'S ENIGMA



McLeod in her office at the Ontario Legislature, on the campaign bus with daughters Bern and Kristen (left) a close family

Brian Mulroney, but by his own pledge to cut provincial tax rates by 30 per cent—a proposal that many voters and economists found implausible. Almost by default, the front-runner became a 60-year-old campaign named Lyn McLeod.

Her career compass is circled from Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's winning federal Liberal strategy in 1983. At its heart is an 82-page red-covered handbook, the Ontario Liberal Plan, which sets out the party's policy commitments, such as the federal Liberals' Red Book outlined their promises. Three years in development, the McLeod Red Book aims to define the most common criticism about her leadership—that no one knows what she stands for—and to address voter skepticism by detailing costs and necessities for wide-ranging priorities. "There's a hunger out there to know what politicians are prepared to commit to," says John Benson, co-chairman of

the McLeod campaign. In fact, during the first night of Liberal TV commercials presenting the plan more than 600 people called in to request copies—100 in one three-minute period alone.

Whatever else it may be, the Red Book is not short on promises. Within 30 days, a McLeod government would repeal a five-per-cent provincial tax on auto insurance premiums and increase the NDP's \$200-million dollar job-training program. Within a year, the Liberals would develop a new core curriculum for Ontario schools and adopt a voters' bill of rights that most of that agenda is focusing on the critical issue—how to balance the budget by the end of the term (the year 2000), cutting government spending by \$4 billion and taxes by five per cent. The doubters insist it cannot be done. "If she cuts taxes and increases spending as she's promised, Ontario's credit rating will be downgraded the same day," says Rae policy adviser Russ McClellan. "Money's not come at us with a Sherman tank." Several independent economists have endorsed the basis of McLeod's fiscal plan, but with a caveat. It is based on fairly rosy assumptions of growth rates—3.5 per cent for each of the next five years.

Initially, the Liberals had been quite content to debate the plan. It kept the focus where they wanted it—off Lyn McLeod. "They didn't want to put all the eggs in the basket of McLeod's personal performance," says Dan Roth, president of Economics Qualitative Research in Toronto. "Instead, they tried to make substance the style—facts, figures, timeliness. That's much less vulnerable." Less vulnerable, perhaps, but hardly bulletproof. As MacNaughton cautions, "It's now a ball game, and a probably won't be decided until the bottom of the week."

It's important to know this about Lyn McLeod: She played hard in her highschool basketball career, and it won the provincial championship. Her future husband, Neil, apparently viewed these victories as unimpressive. McLeod's father is a gene not exactly well-suited to the vertically challenged. Shortly after they met—on a blind date arranged by Neil's older sister—he challenged Lyn to a little game of one-on-one. "We played for about three minutes," he remembers, chuckling. "He charged my clock." It was a lesson McLeod's future political adversaries might have profited from, whatever her apparent weaknesses, it is dangerous to underestimate her. Since 1963, she has run in 20 separate elections—and won 26 times.

But in almost every sense, Marilyn Lyn McLeod, B.A. in politics, social, and law. The older of two daughters, she was born in Georgian Bay, where she was raised in St. Wlad, a small K-class in town of Windsor. The family was apolitical. Her late father was a public works superintendent, her mother, who lives in Thunder Bay, worked for an insurance company. McLeod was a straight A student at Glenora Collegiate, studied ballet (she still has her toe shoes), and edited the school paper.

She and Neil married in Winnipeg in 1982; he was then a third-year medical student, McLeod, with a BA from the University of Manitoba, was hired as a \$3,000-a-year case worker for the Children's Aid Society. When he graduated, she returned to school for an education degree, winning the gold medal in her class. By then, McLeod was pregnant with Daria, the first of their four daughters. After interning at Toronto General Hospital, Neil accepted a two-year posting at a clinic in Thunder Bay. They moved.

Toward the end of this term, he was approached to run for the city's

board of education. They both has general practice, he declared, but suggested to recruiters that they approach his wife. "At the time," she says, "I did not see that as entering politics at all. I did it because I was concerned about the lack of opportunities for handicapped children." McLeod ultimately served 27 years as a school trustee, seven as chairman. But wife's long hours involved what Neil McLeod calls a period of adjustment. But he soon came to relish his evenings at home with his daughters, building relationships that would be the envy of most parents. By all accounts, the family remains incredibly close. As Drew, 23, an aspiring actor, recently told a Toronto newspaper, "We make the Carolyn look dysfunctional."

Nor was Neil perturbed by McLeod's rising public profile. "I'm totally caught up in my *Deux Thèmes*," he jokes. "I get lots of my own ego strokes." In fact, says Susan McCartney, a close friend and political confidante of Lynn McLeod, "Neil's been a tremendous success in his own right—former chair of staff at McKellar Hospital and now a partner in the city's largest luxury practice clinic. He's not threatened at all."

In 1975, the McLeods moved into a new back-splashed home on a quiet cul-de-sac in Thunder Bay's Edgewater neighborhood. Modestly furnished and decorated with groups of native Canadian artists, the only obvious luxury is a large-screen TV in the family room, where the couple like to watch *60* or *Planet News*, and often spend weekend evenings sipping up an recent videos. Two weather-beaten cars stand in the carport—a four-door Oldsmobile and a two-door Toyota Celica. The house is an hour from the rippling slopes of Mount McKay, where the family likes, and so does from their pining cottage, which Neil built on the shore of Sheshaungwan Lake.

The cottage is an important refuge for McLeod. There, she likes to sell their 70-foot boat and spend long hours reading—history and fiction, as well as official briefing papers. She recently finished Barbara Tuchman's *The March of Folly*, which chronicles the tendency of political leaders to choose the least favorable course of action, even when better alternatives are available. Says McLeod, laughing, "I thought it might not be a bad book to read if you were contemplating forming a government."

McLeod's reading habits—and her appetite for detail—are almost legendary among her associates. In preparation for family vacations, McLeod spends weeks pouring over tour guides, reading caucous notes and meticulously preparing daily itineraries. On a trip to England a few years ago, Neil was driving in a heavy rainstorm to meet in "some place where Mary Queen of Scots had once spent an afternoon. Yeah, I think." Nothing but wide moping in the passenger seat, he decided to skip the stop. When she asked, they were already at the hotel. "She went well," he laughs. "I thought she would tell me."

In 1983, wearing a new chalcid, McLeod left the school board and enrolled at Lakerhead University, earning a master's degree in psychology, then her masters. In one course, statistics, she scored 100 per cent. "Actually, it was 90.7 per cent, but I rounded it off," says her professor, Bill McNeely. "In 20 years of teaching, I had never given that mark before."

Graduating in 1986, McLeod took a job as a psychologist working with troubled youth at Thunder Bay's McKellar Hospital. "She dealt with a lot of trauma cases," says Dr. Gene Koloski, her former supervisor. "Drug abuse, suicide attempts, depression. Is she tough? I'd say yes, but it's not a masculine, macho kind of toughness. It's strength. It's calm, confident, steady strength." Current and former colleagues routinely offer similar assessments of her character, with scarcely a word of criticism.

Inevitably, perhaps, McLeod's public service had won the attention of Liberal organizers, who wanted her to run in the 1984 federal or 1985 provincial election campaigns. Both times, she said no—in part because she was too concerned about her own career, in part because of allegations voiced by her youngest daughter, Kristina, then still in junior high school. "I thought I needed my own



Kicking off the June 11 election campaign: 'a home rare'

around," says Fleming, now 21 and a psychology student at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.

When party organizers called again in 1986, it took another lively council—held at the Sheshaungwan Lake resort—this time the son-in-law. "This was a crossroads for me," McLeod recalls. "I had committed to a new field, psychology, but I realized I could not walk away from this opportunity." Most observers gave her little chance of beating the Conservative incumbent, a populist politician and pugacious former labour rascal named Mackay Bowens. McLeod conducted an aggressive campaign and won by 1,200 votes. Then- premier David Peterson promptly named her minister of colleges and universities. Two years later, she joined the cabinet's practices and planning committee as minister of natural resources.

In that portfolio, she inherited one of the government's thorniest issues—the debate over old-growth forests in the Temagami region of Northern Ontario. There, she had to reconcile the conflicting interests of commercial loggers, ecologists and native land claims. "It seemed unsolvable," says former deputy minister George Toulh, now retired. "We had obligations under law to provide white pine to the sawmills. I gave [McLeod] a lot of credit. She recognized very early that while the supply was there in the short run, sooner or later



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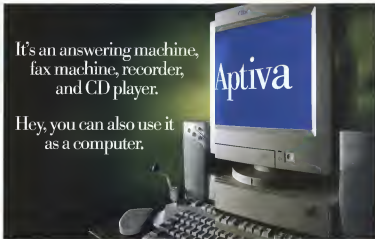
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'I realized I could not walk away from this opportunity'

we were going to run out of big wood." The entrepreneur, who went on to create a company composed of government appointees and representatives of local native people, which oversaw land-use issues in four protected townships. McLeod's business was also on display in 1990, after Peterson decided to call in election only three years into his mandate. Watching the premier's opening press conference, she told her family: "We're going to get gloves out of the cabinet." They were, and shortly after Peterson's subsequent resignation, caucus associates began suggesting that McLeod seek the leadership.

On the face of it, she was an unlikely choice—a mother, a woman, and part of the party's male-dominated power structure, and not terribly good at the backslapping and joke-tossing routines of political life. And for all her perceived strengths—the inner confidence, the proven track for bottom-up approaches to problem solving—McLeod was critically weak in an arena that now counts for so much in politics: the art of the sound bite. On the podium and in debate, she was content to talk, a verbal sportsman. The need to focus on style and appearance seemed foreign to her. In fact, it is only recently, says daughter Kristina, that "my mother has learned how to put on eyeliner." Under the tutelage of Wendy Dey, former executive producer of *Crestline* AM, McLeod has also spent long hours polishing her rhetorical skills, learning how to present the right balance of knowledge, conviction and wit—in 30 words or less. In the end, a more pragmatic vote in the leadership election separated her from the caucus, and former health minister Murray Strachan. Today, Liberal opponents insist that the party's November success is solidly rooted, with several of McLeod's former rivals, including Clinton himself, active in the cabinet campaign.

Said the past three years have been a test for McLeod. While the party reaped the public opinion harvest of Bob Rae's scandal-prone cabinet, her own profile barely registered on the political radar screen. Advisers urged her to put policy statements on the table—like the Tories had done with their Common Sense Revolution. McLeod refused the pressure: "I can't tell you how many drinks the balanced budget proposal went through before I'm in control," says Bob Richardson, her chief of staff. "She was prepared to take the heat until we had done our homework. Unless she's comfortable with something and understands it, she isn't doing it." Similarly, Richardson refers to her base as "the queen of detail." When staffers had to meet expectations, McLeod reacts with con-



With family at leadership victory in 1992, unlikely

home. McLeod spends weekends tending to her constituency. She enjoys fired chicken at Mary Brown's Restaurant with Neil on Friday nights, buys groceries at the A&P, shops for clothing at Barbra's or Town and Country, and gets her hair done at Miss Lili Ann's beauty parlor. She comes in Saturday morning and heads straight for the coffee, "says Lili Ann Brown." It is a quiet, even a quiet, as out. Otherwise, I just sit it and wait. It's \$12 and it's done in 15 minutes. Does she go? Generously."

The cynicism that infects the nation's political culture is bred not only by self-serving politicians with short memories of promises seldom kept. It is, too, by the public's welcome realization that the shadow of war hangs over the prospect of client-positive change is now severely constrained. Increasingly, the decisions that most critically affect the lives of Canadians—and of all Canadians—seem to be made elsewhere: in Washington or Tokyo, Paris or Seoul.

In those circumstances, the Liberals may have realized that the best course a government can follow is to appreciate the predicament we live with, and to act in a spirit of pragmatism.

It is a spirit of pragmatism that has guided the Liberals in the pursuit of state ideologies. Perhaps that is why Lyn McLeod has so carefully staked her claim in Ontario's middle ground. Of course, the middle ground in Canadian politics has shifted perceptibly to the right, but it still the middle—safer, more moderate, less threatening. Bland words, as former Conservative premier Bill Davis knew so well, and as Jean Chrétien has discovered. And Lyn McLeod, the polished waltzer, is, essentially Bill Davis in dress. For Ontario voters, the message tag at the centre may be as strong as food safety in sausages. For McLeod and the Liberals, it is clearly an attempt to find common ground in safety.



Neil McLeod at home in Thursday Bay, 'not there' need

Mixed messages on pensions and payments

The high court rules on family issues

There is at first blush nothing much in common between James Egan, Susan Thibodeau and John Miron. Egan is gay and lives in Courtenay, B.C., with John Nesbit, his partner for the past 47 years. Thibodeau is a social worker from Trois-Rivières, Que., who is divorced with two children. Miron is an Ottawa-area solo mechanic living common-law with Jocelyne Vallières, the mother of his two children. Different people, different lives. But the likes of all of them intersected briefly last week at the Supreme Court of Canada handed down rulings in three separate cases



Thibodeau is criticizing a law that she says forces women

pay tax on child support payments while the parent paying the support—almost always a man—was allowed to deduct the payments. Thibodeau had argued successfully before the Federal Court of Appeal that she was discriminated against because she had to pay tax on the support payments while her ex-husband got a tax break. Thibodeau and her supporters and the Supreme Court division only proved that the law forces men. "I am asked to live in Canada and Quebec because the values of the governments are money and power," she said after the ruling.

In the Miron case, the court also ruled by 5-4 that

common-law spouses

have the same rights as

those who are legally

married. And while the

case applies specifically to

rights to receive

automobile insurance

benefits, the reasoning

in the judgment sug-

gests a much wider ap-

plication. Following a

1997 automobile ac-

cident, Miron was denied

accident benefits under

Vallières's automobile in-

surance policy because he

was not legally married to

her, despite the fact that

they had been living

together since 1986. By

the issue of common-law

in the three cases, it was

clear that the issues de-

manded common-law

status in the courtroom

as in society at large.

Ottawa lawyer Georges

Bouchard, who is counsel

for Miron. "These de-

cisions are reflective of varying opin-

ions across society."

The mixed message in the Egan

case—what Become called "a bit of a

look and wave"—combined with the

rejection of Thibodeau's case and

the narrow majority in favor of the

rights of common-law spouses in the

Miron judgment left some court

watchers wondering if the high court

was taking a more conservative

turn after several years of giving way



CLAIMING RIGHTS

In three cases last week, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled on issues of equality before the law and what it takes to be a family.

● Susan Thibodeau, a divorced mother of two from Trois-Rivières, Que., claimed that federal tax law discriminates against women because the person paying child support benefits (usually a man) received a tax deduction while the person receiving it (usually a woman) must pay tax on the money. The court ruled 5-4 that the current system is constitutional.

● James Egan, 78, had been denied a spousal pension for John Nesbit, 67, his companion of 47 years. The homosexual couple from Courtenay, B.C., claimed they were victims of discrimination. The court unanimously agreed that the equality section of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms outlaws discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. But it ruled 5-4 that the federal government was not discriminating against Egan and Nesbit by refusing them benefits.

● John Miron, an Ottawa-area father of two children born to his common-law wife, Jocelyne Vallières, claimed discrimination after he found that he was not covered by Vallières's auto insurance policy because they were not legally married. The court ruled 5-4 that common-law spouses have the same rights as those who are legally married.

● Egan (right) and Nesbit at their home in Courtenay, B.C., after the verdict: "The door will now be opened. Sooner or later, the courts will rule in our favor."

asserted as a bit of a step backward in terms of the level of concern the court expressed about discrimination," said David Schneiderman, executive director of the Centre for Constitutional Studies at the University of Alberta. "The court is self-conscious of making too far ahead of the rest of society."

But Gerald Chipman, a Calgary lawyer and chairman of the constitutional and human rights section of the Canadian Bar Association, said the Supreme Court has been relatively consistent in its openness about intruding on the government's right to limit compromises on controversial social issues. In the Egan case, it accepted the government's contention that spousal pension benefits were originally designed to help poor women who had taken time off work to take care of children. And it listened to its inclusion of sexual orientation as an equality right with a state-mandated singing the praises of traditional marriage. Because only male-female couples can have children, the court majority declared, "marriage is by nature heterosexual." And it added that Parliament is fully within its rights to support an institution that has "long been fundamental been firmly rooted in our legal tradition." In the Thibodeau ruling, the

judges accepted the government's argument that the system of taxation of child benefits was designed to reduce the overall taxes paid by a divorced couple so that more money could be set aside for child care. The court, said Chipman, is not becoming more conservative. Rather, "what we have seen is lawyers pulling the court limits of the charter, and if we're on the outer limits, we can expect the court to set some boundaries."

In the Thibodeau and Egan rulings, the court also took account of the effect of its judgments on the cost to the government. In Thibodeau's case, the government estimated that for the 1993 taxation year alone, it would have had to refund \$332 million to consolidated parents if she had won her battle. "Government must be accorded some flexibility as extrajuridical social benefits," Justice John Sopinka wrote in the Egan decision. "It is not realistic for the court to assume that there are unlimited funds to address the needs of all." The Supreme Court is also reluctant, observers said, to interfere in the Income Tax Act.

A central characteristic of the charter is its decision that no rights are absolutely protected. Under Section 1, charter rights are subject to "reasonable limits prescribed by

law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society." The Egan case turned out to be a decision as much about the ability of the government to limit rights under Section 1 as about equality. "The bottom line is that Section 1 is the number 1 section," said Eugene Melnyk, a lawyer with Lang Michener in Ottawa and a former attorney with the Supreme Court of Canada. Four of the nine judges said that Egan and Nesbit faced discrimination, and four said otherwise. Sopinka, the ninth judge, agreed that there was discrimination—but added that the government had the right to discriminate in this case. "It is legitimate," he said, "for the government to make choices between disadvantaged groups, and it must be provided with some leeway to do so."

The judgments brought lengthy legal battles in the three cases to an end. Thibodeau, however, was left angry and hurt by the ruling against her. She later bitterly said that the only two women on the court, Justices Beverley McLachlin and Claire L'Heureux-

Dubé, voted with her against the male majority. But Justice Kimmer Appeal Rock said Thibodeau should not despair. Before the Christmas break for its summer recess, it late June, Rock said, the government will introduce changes in child-support rules that would change the way certain payments are calculated, taxed and entered. While the changes must still be agreed on by the cabinet, Rock had said the potential for the proposed measure. "The children's interests," he said, "must be paramount."

Rock added that the government still plans to introduce changes to the federal income-tax code to include sexual orientation. Egan was disappointed that the court did not win their case, but he welcomed the court's ruling as a moral orientation. "The door will now be opened," he said. "Sooner or later, the courts will rule in our favor." But Egan acknowledged that the effect of an ambiguous victory for same-sex couples would have been enormous. "The tradition of centuries would be overturned. The face of society changed completely," he said. For a high court that appears to measure the temper of the times in its rulings, that was still a bridge too far.

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CANADA

Grace under fire

In most areas of life, an apt description of the art of being graceful would be that it consists of making the hard look easy. In politics, the reverse is also true: a graceful politician can take an ugly or controversial issue and make it look complex and critical. That allows a government to act only if it chooses, and to justify its delay when it does not. All governments do this: only the graceful ones get away with it.

Which brings to mind the Liberals. In many policy areas, they do nothing, but do it with great grace. Try to think, for example, of a schismatic initiative that the Liberals have achieved in such fields as the environment or health care. Often, Liberal policies are defined

less by what is than by what is not. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien has successfully maneuvered around a political minefield on the Quebec issue by doing nothing either to buy favor or to punish a province that elected a majority of sovereigntists provincially and federally. And in foreign policy and trade, the Liberals' dovetailing stand on human rights has created their own sort of a Chamber of Rights all money is respect and no money will be offered or discriminated against, regardless of the country of origin and its abuses.

But lately, the Liberals' list of achievements has been eroded on several fronts, while its agenda for the rest of its mandate appears even more bare. Human Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy's quasi-sudden plunge to overhual social programs now looks naive to yesterday's time tomorrow. And remember that promise to replace the Goods and Services Tax? The Liberals wish you wouldn't. Then, there's the early move to bring up the dead issue by the Progressive Conservatives to privatize Toronto's Pearson International Airport. The breaking of the contract has turned out to be an embarrassment to all sides. Last week, the Ontario Court of Appeal issued a lower court ruling that Ontario can be held liable for damages if a commercial carrier like the deal, clearing the way for a full trial to assess damages. Another waste for post-election business, the scrapping of the Turner \$4.4 billion purchase of new helicopters, will rise again to haunt the



BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

by ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

Liberals: the purchase of new helicopters—though more modest in cost than originally planned—is inevitable and essential.

Now, think of government: the Liberals certainly do, often enough. Despite that, they have largely escaped criticism. But public perception changes quickly—and may soon, with two events. One is the post-barraging of Public Works Minister David Duggan, who has taken \$20 million intended to fix a dangerous stretch of the TransCanada Highway and diverted the money onto one of his own riding's secondary roads, the Plouville-Lac Trail to historic Louisbourg. The other is the plan to appoint former Montreal backslider David Berger as ambassador to Israel. It would be an extraordinary gesture, one that

contrasts sharply with the Liberal record in most areas subject for the instant in which he left it—resigning last October to create a safe Montreal seat for new Labor Minister Lucienne Robitaille.

That loose justice and the finance department's deficit-cutting efforts as the two areas of private accomplishment. Both initiatives have problems. Justice Minister Jean Chrétien's plan to control legislation, the centerpiece of his efforts, has divided the party on unwieldy issues and given the Reform party an issue that will resonate into the next election. And while Finance Minister Paul Martin's next budget is more than eight months away, Martin is a long breath that he is deeply worried that cabinet colleagues will not agree to the deep cuts needed to reduce the deficit next year from \$22.7 billion to \$24.3 billion as promised. Achieving that will mean reducing the size of such sacred programs as old age pensions. As a result, Martin may publicly ask Chrétien to guarantee that cabinet colleagues before they are proposed to cabinet.

Even without such heavy lifting to date, the Liberals, with the notable exception of Chrétien himself, look and act tired. The turnover in short-staffed ministerial offices has been high and, 18 months into office, many MPs remain in talks about being "in consultation." In the longrun, even if the Liberals are starting to learn from the real definition and importance of grace—which is whether they can maintain it when under fire.



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CUTS AT THE CBC

CBC President Peter Beatty announced that the corporation intends to eliminate about 1,000 jobs. As part of its budget-cutting efforts, 200 people will be laid off; about the same number will be offered buyouts, and another 130 vacant positions will not be filled. In February, the federal government reduced its grant to the CBC for 1995-1996 by \$4 million to just over \$1 billion.

CLASH OVER CREATION

B.C. Education Minister Art Chutkowski gave the Abbotsford school district until June 15 to stop teaching so-called creationism in its classes. Chutkowski said that provincial law prohibits public schools from teaching any religious creed. Creationism rejects Darwin's theory of evolution, arguing instead that the world was created as described in the Bible.

NYSTROM IN THE RUNNING

Former Saskatchewan MP Lorne Nystrom declared his candidacy for the leadership of the federal New Democratic Party, to be decided at an October convention in Ottawa. Nystrom, 40, represented the Saskatchewan riding of Yorkton/Melville for 20 years before losing in the October, 1993, election. The other two declared leadership candidates are B.C. ex-Senator Robson and Vancouver author Herschel Harder.

SODOMY RULING

The Ontario Court of Appeal ruled that teenagers between 14 and 18 are free to engage in and intercourse with consenting partners. The court said that a law against youth sodomy and buggery discriminates against young people, particularly homosexuals.

A VISITING WAR CRIMINAL?

The federal government scheduled a deportation hearing in Toronto for June 1 for Roland Kiehn, an 81-year-old visitor to Canada whose Ottawa lawyer is a Second World War criminal. The government declined to say where the man is visiting from, or what crimes he is alleged to have committed, until the hearing is held.

MEXICAN EXTRADITION

Dennis Hurley, a 37-year-old Newfoundland native, became the first Canadian national committed for extradition to Mexico under a treaty signed in 1990. Hurley, a former executive assistant to the publisher of *Chatelaine* magazine, is charged in the January, 1992, drowning of his 48-year-old live-in companion, Murray High, while on a trip to Mexico.

Canada NOTES



SLIP-SLIDING AWAY: Prime Minister Jean Chrétien got a helping hand as he tried to mount a skateboard before a news conference in Ottawa. Chrétien later told reporters that Quebec separatists are attempting a similarly precarious balancing act: trying to convince Quebecers that they can separate and yet still enjoy all the benefits of an economic union with Canada. A referendum victory based on such claims, he added, would be open to challenge.

Explosive claims

Police in Charlottetown stepped up security measures at the city courthouse after the justices of the Prince Edward Island Supreme Court, who work in the same building, received a letter stapled with a satellite trace on a unnamed group claiming responsibility for the April 20 bombing at the P.E.I. legislature, and another unnamed bombing that took place at the courthouse in 1988. A second letter from the group, mailed to a local CBC announcer, contained a detailed drawing of the legislature's bomb, including precise measurements and the type of batteries used in it. It also said the bomb used in 1988 was identical except for the timer and batteries. Police said they were taking the letters seriously.

Meanwhile, a man accused of bringing a homemade bomb into the department of Indian affairs offices in Hull, Que., complained in a open letter to the Prime Minister that the federal government had ignored his proposal to distribute food in northern Canada through

a Quebec-based company. Pierre-Clair Dubeau, 41, was charged with illegal possession and use of explosives, and with mischief. He had been seeking a \$1-million loan guarantee from Ottawa.

New allegations

A long-awaited commission of inquiry into the actions of Canadian peacekeepers serving in Somalia got under way amid allegations that two more Somalis died at the hands of Canadian soldiers than had originally been reported. Until the commission hearings begin, the allegations of wrongdoing by Canadian peacekeepers had centred on four deaths, including the torture and beating death of Somali teenager Shadiq Arane in March, 1992. But Isaac Sechen, a lawyer representing the Somali community in Canada, told the commission about allegations of two additional deaths and of other unreported cases of beatings and torture. The commission was considering Sechen's request to bring Somali witnesses to Canada to testify.



Alabama chevrons: a view to make life harder for inmates

WORLD

The latest trends in penal treatment are privatized prisons and hard labor. Examples of each stand barely a 90-minute drive apart in U.S. territory: 65 miles in central Tennessee, the other in northern Alabama. The privately operated Metro-Dade County Detention Facility in suburban Nashville, Tenn., and the state-run Tennessee Correctional Facility at the village of Canton, Ala., are alike in their wire fences, low-profile structures, neatly groomed grounds and avoidance of "prison" in their names. But they are poles apart in method and manner. The emphasis at Nashville is on "a strong therapeutic environment" and vocational training, says warden James Turner. In Alabama, "we're trying to instill respect for themselves, for each other and for authority," says prison guard Mickey Clark, growling at his charge as he charges yelling girls beside Highway 140, the best of his 14-page shotgun resting on his right hip.

Both the Nashville and Limestone operations, in different ways, reflect public demands for sterner action against crime and for harsher punishment of criminals. Nashville stresses crime prevention by rehabilitation. Alabama is a school of chain gangs seen at deterrence by retribution. Both programs result from conflicting pressures. As federal and state politicians expose laws and rules for tougher sentences and longer sentences before parole, the prison population expands exponentially—and so do the costs of incarceration.

Once again, edified by former Tennessee governor Ned McWhorter, is his turn to the private sector. Prison companies, he says, "are more economically adept at rehabilitation." McWhorter's prison is barely surprising. As governor from 1987 until January, the Democrat

**REPORT FROM
NASHVILLE**
BY CARL MULLINS

PRISONS FOR PROFIT

America's crackdown on crime fuels a jailhouse boom

politicians backed prison-guard unions, and opposition from some cities, to contract out the state capital's 1,089-bed men's and women's maximum-security detention center. And he applied the company that was the contract, Nashville-based Corrections Corp. of America (CCA), in CCA's 1994 annual report.

The record to date shows that CCA, and its showcase Nashville prison, are major business success stories in the often-wireless black crime and punishment industry. Founded 12 years ago, CCA is the oldest of 17 private-sector U.S. correctional companies. It is also the biggest, operating 31 of the 67 privately run U.S. units. CCA, which also has contracts for two prison operations in Puerto Rico, two joint venture units in Australia and one in Britain, now is engaged in negotiations with prison authorities in Canada.

Now Birmingham is the hottest prospect, says Sharon Johnson Rios, the company's operational operations director after serving as the Nashville prison's first warden and as an administrator at Her

Majesty's Prison Blackdown in Redditch, England. Talks are under way with Tennessee officials over the possibility of building and operating a private detention center near Chattanooga and an adult unit in Nashville, 200 km north of the provincial capital. "Negotiations with Alabama authorities are 'on the back burner,'" she says. And there are also prospects for private prison facilities in New Scotia.

The company's share values have more than tripled from their 1982 low—index of companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange. In January, CCA acquired a private transportation company. In April, it absorbed a competitor, Cogent Inc. of Louisville, Ky., and its six prisons. After less than a year in the company's early years, CCA has reported a recent boom in profits—up by 80 percent last year.

CCA's spectacular financial success and a similar boom have been for the company's 2 private prisons in the Washington Corrections Corp. of Coral Gables, Fla. In fact, the uncertainties of cities already concerned about the

Turner (left), Rios in front of Nashville prison: public demands



effect of governments contracting out the fate of criminals in profit-minded private business. But Nashville's Turner, who formerly served as the Texas public prison system's counties that his CCA operation "maintains higher standards than other prisons." His Metro-Dade County institution, he says, is continuously monitored by the American Correctional Association, the professional accrediting body, and the county sheriff's office. State officials said in books.

Private Indian states oppose privatization. But while CCA is not a state and provides no prison program, it attracts staff from the public sector by offering employees at prevailing local rates and offering them a subsidized savings plan in company stocks. CCA's current in-house quarterly earnings, The Private Law, notes that the value of employee-held shares has multiplied in three years.

Taxpayers and their governments also gain, say CCA executives, while maintaining governmental control over compliance with contract terms. The state agency pays a fixed annual per prisoner—currently about \$40 a day in Nashville. The company "cost effectively de-

signs, builds and manages" a prison and gives administrators "the freedom to operate it without cumbersome bureaucratic restraints." Turner adds that in the past, shortly after overhauling the state for running county jails in Illinois, other operators.

Such arguments of well with the prevailing American disavowal of profit with public, bureaucrats and government spending. That is particularly so in the U.S. South, the region where privately run prisons—still housing barely three per cent of the U.S. prison and jail population—are almost exclusively located.

But the prospects for privatization seem within in a penal system undergoing rapid growth. The number of inmates in U.S. prisons and jails has grown, at 30 times the rate of the U.S. population in the past decade, to exceed 1.5 million. The cost of confining them has almost doubled in the years to approach \$50 billion annually. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics ranks "corrections officers" as the top 25 fastest-growing occupations. The far profit prison business is likely to enjoy continuing growth, says Charles Thomas, director of a private corrections study project at the University of Florida in Gainesville. "There are many tangible signs that the role played by private corrections management firms will continue to grow dramatically," he says.

Among the signs Thomas cites are privatization proposals in several U.S. states and in Canada, England, Australia and New Zealand. As well, the 1996 U.S. annual Bureau of Prison budget proposes increasing federal federal prisons in four states. It also calls for private-sector operation of "the majority of future federal detention, minimum and low-security federal prisons."

Coupled with U.S. federal and state plans to build more prisons as a means of anti-crime measures that law-enforcement critics say will further expand the confined population and promote demand for more prisons. In February, the House of Representatives revived a 1994 anti-crime law to increase a five-year federal funding program by almost one-third to about \$15 billion. But the House bill would restrict the federal grants to states that impose longer sentences for violent crimes or maintain minimum-term convicts to serve at least 85 percent of their sentences before parole.

That measure awaits Senate action. But an array of other federal and state laws enacted within the past three years has already caused overcrowding in the courts and more crowding in U.S. prisons. The most popular measure among politicians is the costly "three-strikes-and-you're-out" initiative—various states, 30 years or life without parole for a third felony conviction, no matter how minor that crime may seem. That has resulted in heavy punishment at a hefty cost to the public purse. In Washington state, which became the first to impose such a law, the first rule in November, 1993, raising its expense cap, stood at least \$600 sent to national and state. A California state, was obliged to impose a 25-year-to-life sentence on a habitual offender who snatched a slice of pizza from a young child.

The Nashville program aims to encourage inmates to quit crime—and thereby, as a bonus, reduce the prison population. It includes high-priced compliance courses, computer classes, prison chores and

CELLS FOR SALE

Of the more than 1.5 million adults currently held in U.S. prisons, only a small fraction are held in privately run facilities. But their numbers are increasing rapidly!



* Based on total population of facilities on federal, state or county contracts, as well as on planned population of existing facilities.



Prisoners in Nashville's Metro Davidson County Detention Facility—grow

form of public relations designed to show the passing public that Alabama's new Republican governor, Fob James, is keeping last year's electioneering promise to make life harder for prison inmates. Beside Highway I-65 last week, Lt. Jim Gates of the Alabama Corrections Department gave permission to talk to his charges, although "taking one of these guys if he blows the chain is like asking a nine-year-old if he wants a bath—what?" Sure enough, the members of one of the five 10-member groups, each equal isolated together at the end of by a 2.5m-long steel chain slightly heavier than a dog leash, uttered a chorus of complaints: "Inmates," "crack" and "what about us?" "Harshing," "shower," "shower." But the overriding sentiment was that their 30-hour-a-day ordeal in sun and heat, the insults shouted by passing motorists and passing tourists, are "just for the public."

That matches the view of the new right wing of activist-minded politicians who have decided candidate Phil Gramm includes "I want to stop building prisons like Holiday Inn." But Gramm and his many sympathizers also are waging war against government spending in a first priority. And the burgeoning cost of crime and its punishment, in financial as well as human terms, threatens to undo their grand plan for cheap government.

But we will not become involved unless a proposal offers the same level of service or better."

Leading the fight against Barry's privatization plans is David Kennedy, president of Local 1251 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, which represents the 200 workers at New Brunswick correctional centers. According to Kennedy, any evidence that privately run prisons are cheaper than government-owned facilities is inconclusive. "The only way to save money," he says, "is by bringing in less-qualified people, which leads to more escapes and assaults inside the institution."

Another vocal opponent, provincial New Democratic Party Leader Elizabeth Wray, charges that the impending end weeks of the political pork barrel. Reason: the new youth facility—which would replace the infamous New Brunswick Youth Training Centre, where a handful of guards raped and sexually abused inmates in the 1970s and 1980s—is being built in the middle of McKenna's home riding, which was devastated by the announced closure of CNE Chatham in that federal budget.

Ortosen from political opponents, though, is unlikely to sway the New Brunswick government. Already, the province is adding expansions of other federal prisons. In the 1970s and 1980s, it built a new adult correctional facility near Dalhousie, 200 km north of Fredericton. Meanwhile, across the border in Nova Scotia, John Savage's Liberal government is assessing the possibility of privatizing some of its own prisons. Where Frank McKenna dares to tread, others may soon follow.

JOHN DUBOIS in Halifax

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day parcels for paid outside employment. "We like to keep them busy a minimum of six hours a day," says Turner, the warden. And with as many as 60 per cent of Nashville's inmates serving time related to the abuse of drugs or alcohol, the prison also provides an intensive, long-term rehabilitation program called Lateral in which self-education and peer pressure drive major roles.

In one session last week, 150 members of the "LifeLine Therapeutic Community" stood together, arms around one another's shoulders. With congratulatory tears, they chanted the memorial program pledge to "inflict as one with our brothers, knowing that if it thins, each other, that we may gain the courage to accept the painful mistakes of the past, and the wisdom to learn from those mistakes"—outlining in the same way far ahead from outside. Early results encourage program director Bob Keston, himself an ex-convict on drug charges, in the first couple of years of the program only eight per cent of LifeLine graduates were arrested or released. He says, compared with 25 per cent of other prisoners. Lifetime now runs a two-night-week alternative program outside the prison.

In public relations mode to the outside community, Nashville inmates under duress, as previous parolees clean up chains along a nearby creek and look after neighboring playgrounds. That used to be the practice in nearby Alabama, where prisoners cleared brush and cut grass along highway borders too short for easy machine mowing. At Louisiana, inmates still work the 1,500-acre prison farm. But the highway work is done by chain gangs—themselves

A bidding war in New Brunswick

Barry's trip is so intensely two-faced mission. Within the next month, she says, she expects to make a final decision on these proposals involving experienced U.S. companies—Nashville, Tennessee-based Conestoga Corp. of America, Wackerly Corrections Corp. of Coral Gables, Fla., and Youth Services International Inc. of Orange Mills, Md. Each firm has submitted a bid to construct and operate, in perpetuity, a detention center for young offenders near Chatham, N.S. Barry, so far, has declined to provide any information about the bids, or about how much money the province would save by going the private route. Says Barry: "We have to find a way to live within our means."

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The UN in chains

Serb fighters hold a Canadian hostage

The sequence of events was as tragic as it was frustratingly predictable. Once again, Bosnian Serb fighters, in open defiance of a UN-issued ban on the use of heavy weapons in and around the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo, took aim at civilian neighbourhoods of the city, killing and wounding scores of innocent people. Once again, NATO warplanes responded by bombing selected Bosnian Serb military targets, in the vain hope that such action would pressure the Serbs into suing for peace. And once again, the Serbs retaliated by doing exactly what they had warned they would do—killing UN peacekeeping troops at gunpoint and using them as human shields to ward off further air strikes. By week's end, two French peacekeepers were dead and hundreds of others—standing in uniformed Canadian Forces captain, Patrick Bechter, 38, of Calgary—were being held hostage by a Serbian kidnapper whose story resolute had again left the international community appearing powerless and humiliated.

Nevertheless, Canadian officials seemed determined to play down the significance of the latest events in Bosnia. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien declined public comment on the plight of Bechter, who in video footage shot by Bosnian Serb soldiers was shown handcuffed to a post in an ammunition depot in Pale, headquarters of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic. For his part, Defence Minister David Colville spent the day after Bechter's arrest campaigning on behalf of the Ontario Liberal Party in Ontario's June 11 election campaign. Later he told reporters that the Bosnian Serbs' apparent acts of aggression against unarmed UN peacekeepers—"an clear violation of international conventions—would have no effect on Canada's policy in the former Yugoslavia," declared Colville. "It is at two incidents and not going to shake our resolve."

For friends and relatives of Bechter, the situation was far more worrisome. According to Canadian officers, the Calgary-based officers—whose family immigrated to Canada from Czechoslovakia in 1970, when he was seven—were shipped and packed when he was taken into custody by Serb soldiers on May 25. Later, his captors forced Bechter to read a statement on a radio hookup to a US command post. "If the bombing stops, we will

be set free. Otherwise, we will be killed," he said. "If the bombing starts again, I've been extracted to tell you, we will die for the sake of NATO. Over." A Bosnian Serb soldier then took the microphone, adding menacingly, "If there is any more bombing, they will be the first to go."

Bechter's father, Vincent Bechter of Coquitlam, B.C., said at week's end that he had not spoken to his son since shortly after his



Bechter handcuffed to a post: 'If the bombing stops, we will be set free'

captain, when Patrick telephoned to reassure his family that he was in good condition. "He called to tell us he was being held, but not to worry—that it was house arrest and he was in no danger," Vincent Bechter recalled. But so, the family was clearly alarmed by subsequent video footage showing their son and as many as seven other UN military observers handcuffed and held hostage in an area previously targeted for NATO air strikes. "I am very worried about his life," the father said. "I know his life is hanging on a very thin string."

Indeed, the situation in Bosnia appeared to be growing more volatile by the day. In recent weeks, snoring the UN has on heavy artillery within 20 km of Sarajevo, Serb rebels

have seized a total of about 280 weapons from UN collection sites near the city. Early Saturday morning, Serb units, masquerading as French soldiers, and drove a stolen French armoured personnel vehicle, took control of Sarajevo's strategic Vukovar bridge without a fight. Three firebombs erupted when a French infantry platoon attempted to retake the bridge, killing one peacekeeper and wounding at least five others. Another peacekeeper was fatally wounded by a bullet to the head when the Serbs targeted his observation post on a hillside above the city's old Jewish cemetery. It was the most serious confrontation between French and Bosnian Serb soldiers in three years of war.

In contrast to the most measured tone sounded by their Canadian counterparts, French officials were outraged by the Serbian aggression. "We can no longer accept a situation in which the international community is

permanently ticked by those who stubbornly refuse to accept a peace settlement," said an unnamed French Prime Minister Alain Juppe. Newly elected President Jacques Chirac, meanwhile, called an emergency meeting of NATO ambassadors in Brussels in which he urged the alliance to give UN troops "the necessary means" to carry out their task. Passionately, Chirac blamed the two French fatalities on "the ambiguity that surrounds the peacekeepers' mandate, the availability of their means and the international community's lack of determination." Words were, but few if any of the 800 Canadian troops now serving in Bosnia would likely disagree.

KOSOV LAMER with correspondent reports

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CHINA BLASTS VISIT

China warned that a planned visit to the United States by Taiwan's president would cause "severe damage to Sino-U.S. relations." Lee Teng-hui plans to attend a June 8 to 10 summit at Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y. No president of Taiwan has visited the United States since 1979, when Washington recognized Beijing as China's sole government.

INVESTIGATING A CLUT

The disastrous cliff fall is believed responsible for a March 20 gas attack on Tokyo's subway system was placing a much larger chemical-weapons assault aimed at destroying the country's leadership, Japanese reports said. Leading police sources, the reports said that the Aum Shinrikyo sect planned to drop 500 lb. of nerve gas on Tokyo, enough to kill millions of people.

THE BUTLER DID IT

A New York City judge ruled that the former butler to the late tobacco heiress Doris Duke was unfit to be executor of her \$1.6 billion estate. The ruling accused Bernard Lafferty of using his position to finance a "profitable lifestyle." The estate is destined to become one of North America's largest charitable foundations.

SPIES LET OFF

Germany's supreme court ruled that former East German spy who ran Cold War espionage network in West Germany should not be prosecuted in their revised homeland. The court said it was unfair to try such men because their work was legitimate under East German law.

EBOLA FEARS SURSIDE

The worst of the Ebola virus outbreak in Zaire appears to be over. A spokesman for the World Health Organization said the UN agency is planning to withdraw as early as the end of the 43 experts who were sent to Zaire to investigate and contain the deadly disease. As of last week, the agency had recorded at least 1,614 Ebola cases, 523 of which resulted in death.

WHITE HOUSE INTRUDERS

A 20-year-old Virginia man was charged with assault and weapons violations after scaling the White House fence and rushing towards the building carrying a revolver. Latent Mideletti was shot in the arm during a scuffle with Secret Service agents. Three days later, an armed man climbed the 10-foot fence and was arrested. The Mideletti follows a decision to bar traffic from the road in front of the White House for security reasons.

World NOTES



FINAL CHAPTER: More than a month after a powerful bomb destroyed the Oklahoma City Federal Building, the remains were dismantled by subcontractors. The April 19 explosion killed 167 people, including 19 children. Meanwhile, a judge released James Nichols, who faces charges in connection with the bombing, from prison where he had been held for a month. His brother, Terry Nichols, and Timothy McVeigh are the prime suspects in the attack and remained behind bars.

Israel backs down

Under intense international and domestic pressure, the Israeli government suspended indefinitely the expropriation of Arab property in Jerusalem. The future status of the city, claimed by both Israelis and Palestinians as their capital, is subject to negotiations between the parties—and neither has shown any willingness to back down from seeking total control of the historic city. The confederations had soured Israeli's relations with its Arab neighbors and threatened to derail the ongoing Palestinian peace talks. By July 1, Israel hopes to negotiate an agreement on Palestinian elections and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from several West Bank towns and villages. Although Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's body left him looking radioactive at home, Arab leaders were quick to offer their support, with Jordan's King Hussein calling the suspension a "cautious

decision." In another positive sign for Middle East peace, Rabin supported this Israeli night attack as a symbolic withdrawal from the Golan Heights, which is captured from Syria in 1967. The withdrawal would be made over a period of about three years to test relations with Syria.

Juror ousted

A 38-year-old white telephone company worker became the eighth person to be dismissed from the jury in O. J. Simpson's double murder trial. Francine Marie Dunbar, who had earlier been the focus of bitter racial complaints, said that Judge Lance B. Ives released her after he received a letter accusing her of writing a book about the case. She denied the charge. Dunbar's place was immediately filled by a retired black cleaning woman who said, during jury selection, that she had never heard of Simpson. There are now only four people left in the alternate jury pool.



Gravity flows to Toronto: meeting a desperate defiance

TAKEOVER TURMOIL

For George Taylor, it is a case of déjà vu all over again. The philandering chief executive of John Labatt Ltd. of Toronto is currently embroiled in an increasingly bitter fight to better a \$2.5-billion bid from Oxeo Corp. of Toronto for his brewery and entertainment conglomerate. It is a familiar experience for Taylor during his 35-year career at Labatt, the part-time sheep farmer who lives in St. Mary's, Ont., has seen control of the company change hands four times. Last week, in a crowded presentation to shareholders at Toronto's St. James Hotel, which is 42 per cent owned by Labatt, Taylor acknowledged that the conglomerate is up for grabs. He added wistfully "There we go again. People just like to buy good companies."

This time around, the stakes are enormous, and both Taylor and Oxeo chief executive Gerald Schwartz seemed intent on turning the takeover of Labatt into a brawl. Ignored by an Oxeo offer that he claims would "steal" Labatt's assets, Taylor has opened Labatt's books to foreign brewers, communications companies and other takeover

spectacles in the hope of attracting rival bidders into the fray. In fact, Taylor told reporters he had to rush away from last week's shareholder meeting to handle with one potential suitor. At the same time, Taylor is also attempting to counter Ray Brown's accusations that the Labatt board of directors is not fairly representing the interests of the company's shareholders.

Meanwhile, at Oxeo last week, Schwartz demanded that capital market regulators at the Ontario Securities Commission force Labatt management to disclose financial information that could undermine his bid. He alleges that there is a secret agreement that would see Labatt's 22-per-cent holding of brewer PMSA Cerveza of Mexico fall apart if Oxeo—not any other hostile bidder—takes over the Canadian beer company. Growing PMSA is a key part of Oxeo's strategy at Labatt. In a terse statement, Schwartz claimed "We have evidence that Labatt's management has created these person jobs without disclosing them." Taylor defiantly said any confidential agreements with other brewers will remain secret, and at

week's end the Oxeo's lawyers were considering Oxeo's request. For its part, Labatt management countered the Oxeo offer by filing a lawsuit in a New York City court over Oxeo's failure to disclose its bid to Labatt shareholders in the United States. Labatt alleges that Oxeo is trying to rush its "low ball bid" forward, and U.S. regulations would require its bid to stand beyond its deadline of June 9.

And while Labatt is keeping the terms of some international deals secret, it is disclosing as much financial detail as possible about its beer and sports empire, which earned \$195 million last year on sales of \$2.3 billion, in an attempt to win support from shareholders in its bid to go one to one with another, higher offer. Taylor claims that the bid from Oxeo underbids Labatt's assets by as much as \$800 million. And he asserts that his company is worth between \$200 and \$250 million, based on projected sales of such product lines as Labatt Blue and Ice, Pennsylvania-based Rolling Back and 1200's De Queen beer. "Labatt is the best beer company in the world," said Taylor, noting that it is also underbids compared with U.S. competitors and cross-over deal Molson Companies Ltd.

Taylor and the rest of Labatt's managers, however, are also under watch by investment analysts and shareholders. At the top of the list of complaints about them they have created could be as many corporate strategies as they have beer brands. A company founded in 1860 as a simple London, Ont., beer maker, Labatt has since owned soccer, pizza-restaurant, restaurants, four mills, fruit juice producers, dairies and magazines. But in 1988 Taylor put Labatt on a diet that saw the company shed its food and dairy holdings. The last U.S. dairy user alone are expected to be sold by the end of June for about \$60 million.



GEORGE TAYLOR

HUGO POWELL

'There's only one bid on the table, and it is at \$24'

Labatt brewer Oxeo might pay more, but the relationship is frosty

Since 1988, when Taylor took the helm, Labatt's focus has been religiously concentrated on beer and show business. It controls the Toronto Blue Jays baseball team, the Toronto Argonauts football team, The Discovery Channel and The Sports Network. But repeated management promises over the past year to diversify the entertainment division have never materialized.

At the same time, some core brewing events have gone bad. Labatt was forced to write down last year's \$750-million investment in PMSA by \$280 million to reflect the recent collapse of the Mexican parent. Furthermore, Labatt management's campaign to introduce a position pay takeover defense was defeated by investors last September, a move that many observers interpreted as a vote of non-confidence to management. Recently, the company's share price had eroded down to \$20 compared with a 1983 high of \$28.50, Labatt last week closed at \$20.35. "This is a frustrating situation," said Oxeo

William, an investment analyst with brokerage firm Gordon Capital Corp. of Toronto, which is helping finance Oxeo's bid. At the shareholder meeting, he asked "Why has management not taken the steps that Oxeo has outlined?"

Oxeo's plan, backed by \$312 million from Luxembourg-based brewer Quilmes S.A., \$400 million from major Canadian pension funds and investment banks and \$50 million in bonds, however, is to turn Labatt into a private company. Entertainment assets would be sold to pay back the banks, international beer sales would be boosted by Quilmes, and a pure beer company would be sold back to the public in about five years. The president of Labatt's brewing operations, Hugo Powell, claims that Oxeo and its allies stand to make as much as \$1 billion in profit if they capture Labatt for \$24 a share.

Evening out a competitive bid under the terms of a schedule dictated by Oxeo's June 9 deadline promises to be difficult, and Taylor says Labatt are poised for more time. But the clock is ticking. Mutual fund portfolio manager Frank Minich of Toronto-based Alcantara Management Ltd., who currently controls between five and 10 per cent of Labatt's shares, says that his own calculations peg Labatt's price per share at about \$20 a share. But "there's only one bid on the table, and it is at \$24," he said. Since Schwartz offers his bid, "Mr. Schwartz has enhanced shareholder value by \$4 a share. Everything else is rhetoric and supposition."

Even Taylor concedes that he would welcome a higher bid from Oxeo. He said that his previously friendly relationship with the leveraged buyer firm only became frosty at a meeting in Oxeo's office the night before the bid was publicly announced. When Taylor saw the price tag on Schwartz's offer, he reacted "We made some very words that are best not repeated." Now, a thaw seems unlikely. Oxeo is drawn out of Labatt's so-called data rooms, which are filled with Labatt's financial and operational records for estates willing to sign confidentiality agreements. Says Labatt chief financial officer Robert Vane "What you get in these areas is information and access to senior managers. We are going to spend what little time we have with bidders who might offer us value for the company—not a bidder who has underbids the stock."

Schwartz has said that Oxeo might pay more for Labatt assets if Labatt management indicates precisely where the hidden value lies. But analyst Michael Palmer of Toronto estimates the value of the bid at \$25 a share. "There is a lot involved in this type of transaction, when you rely on the sale of assets to pay down debt," he added.

This takeover is also a risky business for Labatt's 100-member board, which is charged with getting the best possible deal for shareholders. The board's initial reaction to Oxeo's offer was negative. A formal rejection of the bid is expected this week. But the speed of the board's rejection surprised some observers. At last week's shareholder meeting, analyst Brian Nappi of St. Mary's Hotel, which is 42 per cent owned by Labatt, openly challenged the quality of Labatt's corporate governance when the board why an independent group of directors had been struck to evaluate the Oxeo bid. A casual conversation of directors is typically formed to study the offer when a takeover is proposed. Labatt chairman Sam Pollock, former general manager of the Montreal Canadiens hockey team, explained that Labatt management will to issue the notes during segments of the three board meetings that have taken place since Oxeo appeared. Labatt board members are all independent critics, Pollock said, adding "we are all over the bid."

The race to find another, more generous offer or squeeze more money from Schwartz will last at least until Oxeo bid expires next month. But this is likely to be the last takeover battle for Taylor. The 61-year-old CEO has already bravely said that he will retire when his deal is sealed. According to his employment contract, if Taylor loses his job as chief executive because of a change in corporate ownership, he will receive a \$1.4 million severance package along with his company pension. And for shareholders who want to see Labatt's asset value fully realized, that may be a vital price delay.



Trading complaints

BUSINESS

At the annual meeting of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in Paris last week, United States Trade Representative Mickey Kantor—who has cheerfully dubbed himself a “transatlantic thug”—was chatting amiably with Japan's Trade Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto. Inevitably, Kantor landed back to their last meeting in Vancouver just two weeks before. At that time, efforts to negotiate a solution to their deteriorating trade relationship—centering on U.S. allegations of Japanese trade barriers—ended in bitter failure. Now in Paris, Hashimoto fished into his jacket pocket and produced a fascinating photograph he had snapped of Kantor on a cruise boat in Vancouver's scenic harbor. Delighted, Kantor praised Hashimoto's photographic talent. “I was using Fuji film,” he said. All smiles shortly later—*Fig. Photo Plus Co. Ltd. is the subject of another trade dispute between the two countries.*

The incident demonstrated just how difficult it has become for the United States and Japan to avoid confrontations, even at a social level. Now, a transatlantic struggle is under way in the White House intensifies its pressure on Japan to reduce its \$90-billion trade surplus with the United States. At week's end, there were no signs of any compromise, and observers are calling it the most serious trade conflict between the two nations to date. Indeed, it is now feared that the dispute will entirely dominate the economic summit of the Group of Seven industrial nations, which gets under way in Halifax on June 15.

While the dispute over film is a big one—Eastman Kodak Co. is accusing Fuji and the Japanese government of unfair competition—it is overshadowed by a threatened trade war over the automobile industry. Currently, Japanese car exports account for 80 per cent of the U.S. trade deficit.

The Clinton administration denounced on May 11 that it will impose 500-per-cent tariffs on 13 Japanese luxury car imports starting on June 28 unless Tokyo agrees to drastically modify the web of government regulations and unofficial “understandings” that create formidable barriers to foreign trade and investment in Japan. The Americans want for Japanese to set a figure for increased American auto sales, and if they refuse to do so, say that the tariffs will be imposed. The effect of the tariffs would be to completely exclude Japanese luxury cars—including the Toyota Lexus, Nissan Infiniti, Mazda 629 and Infiniti, Mitsubishi

The United States has launched a bitter trade battle against Japan

Diamonds and Honda Acura Legend—from the U.S. market.

Both sides are pleading their cases with the World Trade Organization in Geneva, the new international body established to resolve and arbitrate trade disputes, which replaced the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade last January. Observers, backed by most of America's trading partners, say that Japan has a strong case to make. They say that under WTO rules, the United States should have taken as complaints to the WTO for a ruling rather than unilaterally imposing trade sanctions. And in private, even U.S. officials concur with that view. John Kato, a former deputy U.S. trade representative says, “The U.S. action is a clear violation. I haven't heard anyone suggest otherwise. The United States, however, will counter that

Unfolding Japanese luxury cars: disputed barriers

the WTO should order Japan to open its markets.

To date, Canadian politicians have tried to steer clear of the bilateral dispute. International Trade Minister Ray MacLaren recently said that there is no projected fallout for Canada, because none of the Japanese luxury cars on the U.S. list are produced here. MacLaren has expressed concern, however, that domestic auto-parts manufacturers could be hurt if Japan and the United States eventually cut a deal that includes a Japanese promise to purchase more U.S.-made car parts.

Last week, Canadian economist Sylvia Ostry described the trade dispute as the worst since the Second World War. And she noted that the unilateral

action by the United States could erode the hard-earned international commitment to orderly multilateral trade.

For his part, President Bill Clinton clearly sees himself as being in a strong position, but also is concerned with political timing. With the 1996 presidential election campaign moving into gear, Clinton was at first partly motivated to get tough with Tokyo in order to win approval from blue-collar voters. But even if Japan does order it under the U.S. auto imports, the Big Three car companies—Ford, General Motors and Chrysler—have no plans to make a major push in that near hot because of the investment involved.

Film and cars are just the only areas in dispute. Washington is also considering retaliatory action against Japan for alleged violations of U.S. airlines' rights in Asian markets. Talks over that issue have broken down, and at week's end, the administration was beginning to make threatening noises about applying sanctions to restrict Japanese land use rights in the United States.

While no new negotiations have been scheduled for any of the three major trade issues, MacLaren has learned that Japanese officials have suggested that Japanese auto-makers were ready to agree on a voluntary ban to buy more U.S. auto parts in Japan and in the United States. The White House, however, takes a hard line that that represents too little, too late. But the Japan side has two other trade deals. Scott Ashby, U.S. director of the automobile industry division of the Japanese trade embassy. “We expect former Japanese auto dealers to sell American cars.” He insisted that efforts had already been made to open the market, but Detroit had done almost nothing to gain a greater market share. “We cannot do any more,” he declared.

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SELLING SUNCOR

Sun Co. of Padua, Pa., has sold its 55-per-cent stake in Suncor Inc. of Toronto to Canadian investors for \$1.19 billion, making it the only integrated Canadian oil company without a controlling shareholder. Industry analysts noted that the strong appetite for Suncor's stock bodes well for the coming sale of Petro-Canada shares by the federal government.

TAX GRAB FOR VOISEY BAY

The Newfoundland government is pressuring itself to maximize its tax revenue from the development of mineral deposits recently discovered in Voisey Bay, Labrador. Under proposed legislation tabled last week, Voisey Bay will not be eligible for 10-year tax incentives currently offered to new mining operations, or any other incentives aimed at attracting investors to the province.

NO VACANCIES

The supply of apartments and houses for rent shrunk in April to its lowest level in four years as a result of job growth and high interest rates. The rental vacancy rate in 26 cities fell to 4.2 per cent in April from 4.9 per cent a year ago, according to the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp. The lowest vacancy rates in April were in Toronto, at 1.0 per cent, and Vancouver and Windsor at 1.3 per cent. The highest rate was in Edmonton at 13.2 per cent.

COSTS CLIMB

The cost of living in Canada is gradually climbing, with the annual inflation rate at 2.5 per cent in April, up from 2.2 per cent in March and 1.6 per cent in February. Statistics Canada reported that the April increase was the largest since December, 1991. Prices increased for gasoline, new cars and trucks, vehicle insurance, fresh vegetables, coffee and interest costs. The price of fresh vegetables was up 23.2 per cent because of poor growing conditions in California.

BUCKLE UP

Five automobile companies operating in Canada have agreed to co-operate with a Transport Canada request that they fit detective seat-belts installed in 900,000 Canadian vehicles. It is the biggest auto-parts recall ever, and it is expected to cost the companies tens of millions of dollars. The U.S. National Highway Traffic Safety Administration has also recalled the seat-belts. The seat-belts were manufactured by Takata Corp. of Japan. Cars made by Mazda, Honda, Nissan, General Motors and Suzuki between 1996 and 1991 are affected by the action.

Business NOTES

A new Canadian flight plan

A joint management-labor committee at Canadian Airlines International Ltd. of Calgary predicted the loss of up to 4,000 jobs at the company's unions—which have about 12,000 members—did it agree to a \$25 million in contract adjustments by June 30. Three years ago, employees accepted payroll and benefit cuts of \$200 million over four years in exchange for a 30-per-cent investment made in the company.

Canada lost almost \$38 million last year, but it is projecting a \$55-million profit in 1995. Last year, the company also backed its Softail-les deal with American Airlines parent AMT Corp. of Fort Worth, Tex., which allowed Canada to pay off \$340 million in long-term debt and to conclude a financial restructuring plan.

Now, Canada wants to reduce operating costs by \$305 million over the next three years to improve profitability, buy new aircraft and renew its fleet. To help achieve that

goal, the committee devised two plans. The first calls for restructuring of labor costs by changing existing union contracts. The second would see the elimination of unprofitable domestic routes, which would pre-



venting the start of air plans—and raising layoffs. Tony Johnston, Canadian's vice-president of employee development, said the airline fears the labor cost restructuring plan.

Also last week, Canada lost its right to fly to Russia while Air Canada lost a flight to Cuba under Ottawa's

new carrier-last policy on international service. Air Canada will take over flights to Russia from Canadian, and Air Transat takes over the Cuban route from Air Canada. Ottawa announced in December it wanted to encourage domestic carriers from building the flight routes in a letter denotation if they did not provide at least two flights a week.

Unite! the staff

Long-distance telephone competitor Unitel Communications Inc. at Toronto is taking Maritime Tel and Tel, Nova Scotia's biggest telephone company, to court. At issue is how MTAT was a lucrative provincial government contract until it was lost in 1994. Last week, Unitel launched a private criminal prosecution at MTAT and its vice president for finance and business services Ron Smith, alleging unfair marketing practices. The regulatory Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) at least Unitel to launch the action after concluding that MTAT had violated the federal Telecommunications Act with the marketing practices that it offered to the Nova Scotia government.

The commission said the Halifax-based company's bid "to win back the toll business of one of the largest customers in the province raises particularly grave concerns." It concluded to any court action Unitel might take. A successful prosecution could hit MTAT with fines as high as \$200,000.

The Nova Scotia government planned to

switch its business to MTAT last fall, but it suspended the move after the CRTC ruled in the matter. That contract is worth up to \$75,000 a month and is renewable monthly.

Unitel, 29.5 per cent owned by Rogers Communications Inc. of Toronto, is also presenting evidence to the CRTC about alleged unfair marketing practices employed by Newfoundland Teleboard. The company is also asking regulators to examine every long-distance contract signed by large telephone companies in the past two years to determine whether there have been other unfair practices.

Regulatory clout

The federal financial services regulator, John Palmer, has won wider policy-making powers. Palmer, who heads the Office of the Superintendent of Financial Institutions, confirmed that OSFI will be taking a more active role in making industry rules as a result of a memorandum at the agency and a 20-per-cent reduction in staff at the department of finance.

OSFI will now take over authority for technical and detailed regulatory changes from the competent to the drafting of legislation, rather than advising Finance.



In search of the Chrétien legacy

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Federal politics seems to have slipped into neutral gear and, except for the Saskatchewan and Ontario elections and Jacques Charest's monthly policy webinars, nothing much is happening politically. The filter work has moved to the municipal level, where Canadian cities have launched massive assaults against each other to obtain the prototype and tourist dollars that flow from most international events.

The economic summit in Halifax June 10 to 17 promises to be only the first of many other meetings that will give Canadian cities and regions higher international profiles. It isn't just the constant glow of publicity that counts, but the many permanent impacts of such events that give the places chances a special cachet. As Montreal's Expo 67, Vancouver's Expo 86, the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics and last summer's Victoria Commonwealth Games illustrated, large sporting events, sports facilities and whole new categories of accommodation and other infrastructures are left behind that improve material status and resources.

The struggle among the cities has nothing to do with political principles and everything to do with regional pride and national equity in the sharing of these plans. The G-7 Halifax meeting, for example, was at first supposed to go to Edmonton or Quebec City, but the federal government chose Halifax, mainly because it had not hosted such a significant event before. (Vancouver managed to get it, but was eliminated because the 1980 Commonwealth Conference was held there, as was the Ottawa Felson summit of 1981.)

The fiercest current struggle is between Ottawa and Calgary about becoming the Canadian choice to host Expo 2026. At the moment, no decision has yet been made by the federal government as to which city will be nominated to the international body that rules on these things, but with a record of two highly successful bids in Montreal and Vancouver, any nominee will stand a high chance of acceptance.

Every prime minister wants to make history. If Chrétien wins the unity battle, he then will need legislation to perpetuate his name.

Meanwhile, Quebec City has one of three bids for the 2022 Winter Games before the International Olympic Committee, though Salt Lake City is thought to have the edge. Quebec City mayor Jean-François Lalonde has just when he told the IOC, "Haine des Winter Games athletes that comes from Salt Lake City." The final vote on the venue takes place in late June.

The next highly significant international meeting in Canada will be the 2001 Economic Co-operation summit, scheduled for November, 1997. This is clearly a heads-off and hands-off government event (the first was held in Seattle in November, 1993) that will exclude something like 34 presidents, prime ministers and other dignitaries. Unlike some other meetings, this one will require the hosting province to pick up half the expected \$30-million cost. In terms of the Pacific basin, this problem is the biggest and most significant annual occasion.

Former prime minister Joe Clark is campaigning aggressively to have Calgary host the APAC meeting, while Vancouver has just begun to stake its claim. As Canada's main window on the Pacific basin, Vancouver would appear to be the natural choice. But its

longstanding British Columbia right lose out because of Ottawa's awarded the Expo 2005 contract, the Chrétien government might feel that Calgary should be compensated for its loss by being asked to host the APAC meeting.

That municipal concerns are occupying the national stage is a tribute to Chrétien's ability to defuse tricky political issues. This ability is currently being tested by his handling of the gun registration issue, which at one time threatened to split not only the country but his cabinet. By exposing disarray on his cabinet to vote his way or let the highway, an unexpectedly tough side of his character has emerged—one he will need to deal with Pearson's reemerging separatist movement.

He is planning to campaign personally in Quebec, once the referendum is called, but this will be diplomatically difficult because the Peds don't want Quebec Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson to appear to be Chrétien's proxy. The Prime Minister has had to overcome tremendous difficulties in the province, trying to live down his image as the man who, as justice minister in the Trudeau cabinet, betrayed Quebec by agreeing to the 1980 deal that left the province out of the Constitution. Those memories of what he may have done then are being replaced by what he has done in office since.

The Prime Minister has been fortunate in inheriting a growing economy and has helped the process along with trade missions to China and Latin America. Paul Martin's second budget, tough as it was, has been accepted, as has the fact that it was the first at least three equally explicit budgetary documents that will likely end the deficit (and later, the national debt) in manageable proportions.

While everything seems to be going well for him, at some point Chrétien will have to decide what he wishes his legacy to be. Every prime minister wants to make history. Lester Pearson left behind medicine, Pierre Trudeau, the charter of rights, Brian Mulroney, the trade with the United States. Chrétien might equally wish his struggle on behalf of softwood exports to be his personal legacy, but it is very far from battle, as I expect he will, history will record his victory as a return to the status quo. What he needs is a piece of legislation that will perpetuate his name.

What better choice than to reverse the past annual social credit suggestions that were floating around Ottawa when Mulroney was minister of national health and welfare and Al Johnson was his deputy? That plan called for a negative income tax, which meant that those Canadians families earning below a predetermined subsistence line would get money from Ottawa, while those with incomes above the line would pay more taxes. The advantage of the scheme is that universal social payments (except medicine) would be eliminated and more money would flow to those who really need it. It would be a rational evaluation, leave the automated welfare approach, yet help those in real need.

Meanwhile, there is the matter of the site of Canada's next Expo to settle.

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Designer (left), Bowman, Ford: The stuff we do is childlike, not childish.

ABSURD APPEAL

Singing cleaning in the *clothes of Radio Free Vestibule* has provided the Montreal-based comedy troupe with enough material to produce their first CD, *Shitshow, Songs and Sissies*. It features just one shtetle number: The *Gungo Song*, a salacious on-formulaic rock music. But the 23 "bunna" tracks include sound-bites of Canadian institutions such as *The Sealed of Marshall McLuhan* and *Enchanted Interview* with Mr. *Drozang*. They are just the sort of off-the-wall spoofs that have become familiar to fans of their regular appearances on the Radio *Remond Dregner*, Ter-

ence. **Howman** and **Paul Ford** formed the oddly named group in 1985 after they met at Concordia University in Montreal. But the two say they only just recently had an insight into who their fans are while eavesdropping on an Internet discussion group for the *Business*. "We appeal to people of all ages because we mainly avoid grown-up life—jobs, relationships, mortgage payments, politics, real estate," says **Ford**. "The stuff we do is childlike, not childish, and the absurd appeals to kids, too." When it comes to money, being ridiculous is clearly a sensible route to take.

A SEQUEL COMING SOON

Canadian writer **Martin Barak** is living his life in episodes. He has just published his fourth novel, *Thrive*, a romantic adventure story. Barak, 52, is producing as well a follow-up to his groundbreaking 1977 television documentary on the Mafia in Canada, *Connections*. CBC TV will broadcast *Organized Crime in Canada* this fall. At the same time, Barak, who splits his time between Toronto and California, is producing and co-writing on *Survivors*, a docudrama about

maligned *Sins Glaciers*, which the U.S. cable channel into its current filming at Toronto. To top it all off, actor Mel Gibson has just been signed to star in a movie based on another of Burke's macabre novels, *Love Joe*. "All kinds of things were suggested to happen in sequence; only they all started happening at the same time," he says. "That's not like you can prove [your] and think that it is going to work in real life." Burke seems to have punched the fast-forward button.

Children's author **Sharon Fitch** can now be accused of serving parole prose, and she won't be punished. Fitch, the author of five books of poetry for children and one for adults, has just published *Miss Mabel*, about a little girl obsessed with the color purple. Mabel, who first appeared in *Tam in My Mom and Other Poems*, has become somewhat of a



Rich: [benjamin-schwartz.com](#)

POETRY IN PURPLE

sions, 20 and 14, transferred and moved from Fredericton to a home on Chocolate Lake in Halifax two years ago. Green Mabel Marples' affinity for mocha maple-chocolate cake, the author says, "It was destiny."

SINGING FROM THE HEART

In an industry rife with big egos, rock musician Barney Bentall III has a reputation for being down-to-earth. And that has not changed, even though his post-famous life has been about, Gus Pfaffner, carries his name since his band's three previous albums, each selling at least 50,000 copies in Canada—were released under the name Barney Bentall and the Legendary Hearts. Despite the name change, says the Vancouver-based singer, the



Jeffrey: 'and a reverse-these thing'

"What it really comes down to is that it's not a me-versus-they kind of thing," says We're an us. And even more change, they still eat heart.

Edited by **BARBARA WICKENS**



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SPORTS

Selling the sizzle

The cameras were off, but Don Cherry, as always, was on. Having descended from his signature soapbox, "Coach's Corner," which appears between the first and second periods, the high-collared hockey analyst rejoined partner Ron MacLean to watch the rest of the Philadelphia New York playoff game on a bank of monitors in the Hockey Night in

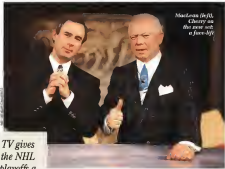
Canada set in Toronto. Cherry was halting, the new lieutenant New York Rangers coach Colin Campbell to replace his starting goaltender Mike Richter with Glenn Hecy, the Rangers' backup. The Rangers did finally sink Richter midway through the second period, but by then the Flyers had struck for four goals—each accompanied by a Cherry Fiddly-oo-thing. "Too late—the horse has bolted," he crowed as Hecy warmed up. Heading for the bridge to look for something to eat, he added, "They should have learned to ice sooner."

Some things never change. But while millions still listen to Cherry—the most vibrant, after all—on this playoff season, fans are seeing him not at the rink but in the studio. And that is only a small part of the dramatic facelift that televised hockey has undergone in 1995. Hockey Night in Canada, a Canadian TV institution since 1951, has been completely reorganized to, among other things, increase the number of playoff games being telecast across Canada.

Meanwhile, Los Angeles-based Fox Broadcasting, which took over from ABC as the NFL's U.S. network rights holder this year, has started luring hockey viewers with innovations ranging from odd camera angles to out-of-control computer graphics. And ESPN, the U.S. cable sports channel, has boosted its coverage by adding games to its oldest channel, ESPN2. For the league, the results are exactly what commissioner Gary Bettman and his associates had promised when they overhauled the league's New York City headquarters little more than two years ago: more people are watching more hockey than ever before.

At Hockey Night in Canada, executive producer John Shannon has installed a studio control center similar to those used on NFL

broadcasts in the United States. Instead of traveling to the rink, MacLean introduces each night's slate of games and joins up Cherry between periods from a set at the CBC's broadcasting center—a set also used for the network's World Cup skiing coverage. Shannon says by working from home base, the network can employ all of its gadgetry to keep viewers abreast of developments in every



TV gives the NHL playoffs a new look

game being played each night. And it means that on double-header nights—when a western-time-zone game immediately follows one from the east—MacLean can act as host for both games.

MacLean, Cherry's amiable and quick-witted foil, says he misses going to the games but understands the logic. "I've never been too comfortable with anything that is too convoluted," he says of the new, high-tech set. "But this has worked well, especially during the first round of the playoffs when there were so many games to keep track of." Studio life suits Cherry just fine. "Nowadays, I go to the rink and it's exhausting," the 66-year-old admits. "All the autographs and everything."

At Fox, which plans to air up to 17 playoff games, everything is new simply because the network had no background in hockey production. Critics have complained that Fox, home of The Simpsons, has trivialized hockey

broadcasts with childish animated graphics. And they are appalled by talk of digitally enhancing the puck so TV viewers can see it more easily—a high-tech notion that is still under consideration. But the network argues that it must attract and educate young viewers to build long-term loyalty to the sport. And with ratings already in check, Fox executives say some of their outcasts are any more offensive than Cherry's garish wardrobe. Besides, they say, their NHL ratings are 18 percent better than what ABC achieved in 1994, and their share of 16 to 18-year-old males—the demographic sought by their advertisers—grew by 50 per cent.

Canada TV executives applaud the Fox innovations. "They are trying to educate, to build an audience," says Ron Harrison, vice-

president of sports for Hockey Night in Canada's parent company, Maclean Communications. "Here, we don't have to explain what an outside is." Tracy Delgad, executive vice-president of marketing for Fox, says that starting from scratch is not necessarily a bad thing. "One of the benefits of having Fox do hockey is that we take a fresh approach to producing the sport," Delgad says. "We are not encumbered by what has been done before."

The same cannot be said in chat, where the Hockey Night in Canada set is adorned not only with colorful paintings of historic Stanley Cup moments, but also with portraits of each old-time announcer as Foster Hewitt and Dunc Galloway. Their presence is a reminder that Canada has a long tradition of hockey broadcasting. But with competition from marketing-savvy Americans, that tradition is entering a whole new era.

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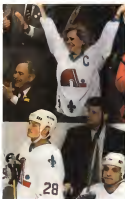
SPORTS

Death of the Nords

The Quebec franchise packs up for Denver

The writing, in both languages, had been on the wall for years, so there was no surprise last week when the money-losing Quebec Nordiques finally died. The voice was quiet in Quebec City, where the team began 23 years ago in the World Hockey Association before joining the National Hockey League in 1979. At a barely-attended news conference, team president Marcel Aubut and the other shareholders—the Quebec Labor Federation pension fund, La Mutuelle insurance company and the *Micro-Industries* property development company—announced that they had sold the franchise to COMBAT Entertainment Group of Bethesda, Md., for \$105 million. Aubut claimed that the team could not survive in the NHL's smallest market with out a new, publicly funded arena and ongoing government support. But Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau instead offered to buy out Aubut and underwrite some team deficits for two years, while the provincial government conducted a feasibility study on the arena. That, the owners decided, was not enough—and now the soon-to-be-renamed Nordiques are off to Denver.

The Nordiques were killed by a disaster that affects many small-market teams—including the Winnipeg Jets who a week before, narrowly escaped the same fate as the Nordiques when a proposed deal to move them to Minneapolis fell through. In Quebec, said Aubut, "The new reality of the hockey industry, the size of the Quebec City market and the absence of adequate government help sounded the knell of the Nordiques." Their revenues from advertising, TV and ticket sales did not cover skyrocketing payroll costs. And, tired of the fans' voracious complaints, Quebec fans had decided themselves for the moment. They failed to fill the 15,000-seat Colisée for some playoff games against the New York Rangers, and only 300 fans turned out for a game the Nordiques easily won. Aubut, a defenseman, was at odds with the separatist provincial and civic leaders. When asked if the province would make a



Parizeau (back, left) with wife Lucette cheering on the Nordiques on April 19, 1995.

last-ditch effort to save the team, Parizeau replied: "I have more important things to deal with than Mr. Aubut's every little whim."

The NHL's owners will have to approve the sale and settle on a transfer fee to be paid to the league—possibly as high as \$14 million. Even if that fee comes at the sale price, the vendors will make a handsome profit: they bought the team in 1988 for about \$13 million. COMBAT, meanwhile, can be easily pleased with the end of the bargain. The company, which already owns a National Basketball Association franchise in Denver, plans to have both teams playing out of the city's McNichols Sports Arena until the new \$120-million Pepsi Center is completed prior to the 1997-1998 season. The Rocky Mountain city is getting just an expansion franchise but, one of the league's most talented teams "We're bringing winners into Denver," enthused COMBAT president Charles Lyons. Quebec's loss Colorado gains.

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SPORTS

The tabloid season

English soccer's year of living scandalously

I take some doing to block out the all ready puffy eye of English soccer, but the past-season season did the trick. Soccer's "Season of shame," they are calling it in English sporting circles, or alternatively, "The year football went mad." But this time the troubles were not the product of backgammon, but instead "Goalbabe" who that British soccer games into little more than assembly points for riots (although there was some of that this season,

then, it's an early shower for you, my dear French friend," still awaits trial for allegedly provoking the rioters.

Police swoop in at dawn to pack up Southampton goalkeeper Brian Goblebar and two other players for questioning over allegations that they conspired with a betting syndicate to fix games. Goblebar, a constant star with the Vancouver Whitecaps of the North American Soccer League, keeps playing while the investigation continues in-



Ferguson (right)
celebrates FA
Cup win with
teammate Dave
Watson, Bedford

1994. Now, North American sports fans will get right at home reading about what ailed English football this year: a sudden flood of money-rich players with cocaine up their noses or their left in hand, greedy owners who ring up ticket prices and forcing working class fans out of the stadiums, and a host of spectacular allegations involving payoffs to player agents, and game fixing. In other words, very little to do with what happened on the field, where, by the way, everything Everton took the FA Cup, English football's showcase event.

Consider a selection from this year's catalogue of scandal:

• Temperamental Frenchman Eric Cantona, arguably the English league's best player, is ejected from a game just seconds to a foul made by punching himself, just first, at the header. The league for only suspends Cantona until next October for the kerfuffle kick, but the British courts sentence him to do community service after a two-week jail term is overturned on appeal. The fan, who maintains that he only yelped, "Wid-

ness" opposition fans to greet his arrival in goal at the start of games by chanting "Bruce, Bruce, let's go to the score."

• George Graham, Arsenal's most successful manager at the post-humorous, is fired after 4 seasons that he accepted more than \$800,000 from a player agent following his club's signing of two Scandinavian stars, both represented by that agent. Graham, who departed the team as two offshoot bank accounts, denied taking backbites, and suggested that the payments came from the agent solely "as a mark of his gratitude."

The league fears the practice is commonplace and has ordered its investigation.

• Stadiums tell about the many of players charged with assault including one, Dennis Wise, who shocked the interior of a two-old in Everton's training session, but both Duncan Ferguson, whose life, on and off the field, appears to be unrequited bedlam. Already banned from the roads after two drunk driving offences—not for nothing in his nickname "Duncan Drunkenly"—Ferguson was convicted of head-butting an

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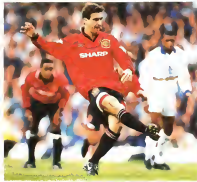
SPORTS

opposed and, last week, was sentenced to three months in jail.

It's been a hot season in soccer, concludes *Daily Express* soccer writer Steve Curry. "A bit unsavoury at times, but always fascinating." Not for the quality of the soccer, of course. Continental European soccer is seen as the best, because of its English football, which relies on a straightforward all-out running game, as contrast to the European obsession to athletic strategy and sophisticated tactics. But, at least the English game's controversies had everyone taking their eye and, while some commentators missed

ed as the historic for. Sizzling challenges have been plentiful with corporate loans, just as the anti-discrimination-only persons—which had been paid duties for violence—came down. Meanwhile, the creation of the Premier League in 1992, with its five-year \$500-million TV contract, has brought two-sided money and unprecedented wealth to English football allowing teams to import talented foreign stars.

Some had old instincts remain. There was the February night in Dublin when English against Ireland scrum was at Irish police and faced macabre of an international



about the tarnished moral state of English football, many others argue that a 90-minute drama never hurt. "Each weekend left you gasping for more," says author Nick Hornby, whose historic 1992 best-seller, *Four Days*, is credited with providing an era of cultural legitimacy to soccer. "You do get worried at times," acknowledges Graham Kelly, the Football Association chief executive. "But we certainly do want color and joy and excitement in the game."

In fact, English football has come a long way from its sorry state in the late 1980s when a series of deadly "hate" riots took the game in its prime and English clubs temporarily banned from playing overseas. Attendance has climbed by more than 25 percent in the 1990s a period that some say has seen the "professionalism" of the sport. "There is no doubt that football has become trendy," says Paul Sheppson, editor of *Football Focus*, a new soccer magazine devoted

**Confess,
hunching
hazily,
firstly, of
a huncher**

on British match. Anaphora and monomaniac will integral to fan behavior. Each September, as fans for a European championship game last month go into the World Cup with the same.

It is weren't for the English you'd be points, sang to the tune of Sir Elton John's *Goodbye to the World*. But there was hope, too, at the north London grounds of the Tottenham Hotspur, where a surprising affection grew between fans and their German striker, Jürgen Klinsmann. England has never been fond of German players, and Tottenham—which has a large Jewish following who call themselves the "Yid Army"—was no unlikely choice for Klinsmann. But the German played hard all year and was over the line. Unfortunately for English football, one talented season was enough. Next year, Klinsmann goes back to play in Germany.

BRUCE WALLACE in London

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Players too crazy to be coaches

BY TRENT PRAYNE

No doubt about it, goaltenders are lonely guys. They play a different game than their teammates do. While everybody else is doing what comes naturally—hanging out on the bench—cross-checking them from behind, butt ending ‘em—goaltenders just stand there or flop down buried in plexiglas. It's not really hockey that goaltenders play, it's peaching tape, or dirt basel, or maybe even penmanship. Another thing about goaltenders, they don't become coaches. This is a curious fact because coaches are in the best position of all the players to study what's going on. They're out there for 60 minutes at every regulation game, and a big part of their business is to know what everybody else is up to and what they might do next. Still, the fact remains that in the National Hockey League goaltenders don't grow old being coaches.

By actual count (the eyes glow glossy as an English leopards' club), the NHL's current Official Guide & Record Book lists 229 coaches in the 71 years since the league moved into the United States (in Boston in 1924). Of these, only five are former goaltenders—and even a couple of those were around barely long enough for a bowl of chili. Such as Hughes Johnston, who lasted only half of the 1937-1938 season in the cage of the Chicago Blackhawks. And such as James Yachnas, who endured a similar fate with the L.A. Kings in 1963-1964 before suddenly being named captain, where he survives, now as president of that troubled franchise.

Another old outlander who made it from the nets to a place behind the bench was Emile de la Cour. From Net to coaching was the deal called the Cat. There was his terrible feud between the pipes during a one-year stint with the Blackhawks and then the New York Rangers, and he remained the subterfuge in shadows in later life as general manager of the Rangers for a decade beginning in 1994. He loomed periodically down behind the bench to replace coaches he fired—first

Goaltenders are a different breed, and perhaps this explains why a mere five have been allowed behind NHL benches

George Sullivan, then Dennis Goffman, then Larry Peppin. In 1976, the Cat soared on to St. Louis as GM for seven more difficult years, replacing the fired Dick Derronson as coach part way through 1981, and similarly dismissing Bertie Pater for the following season while retaining his cat in plexiglas.

In Boston, Gerry Cheevers endured what amounts to a lifetime of coaching under the rooster eye of general manager Harry Staden—four seasons plus, following a decade of Bruins goaltending and a four-year stint with Cleveland in the old World Hockey Association. Nobody else has lasted longer with Staden peering over his shoulder.

Obviously, working for Harry is not a lifetime pursuit, as numerous coaches can attest. Just now, Harry, who has been searching for the perfect coach since 1972, has just added Steve Kasper to his list, having fired the most recent incumbent, Brian Bielecki, a couple of weeks ago. Before Bielecki, the coach was Rick Bowness. Before that, it was Mike Milbury. Before Mike, Terry O'Reilly. Before Terry, Ralph Gunkel. Before Ralph, Gerry Cheevers. Before Gerry, Fred Gaudin. Before Fred, Don Cherry. Before Don, Ray Gaudin. Before Ray, Tim Johnson. And Tom was the

man back of the bench when Harry arrived in Boston 25 years ago. What a career!

Edie Johnston, the chief banker for the Pittsburgh Penguins, never made Harry's list as a coach, though he had endured 35 seasons on the padded roll with the Bruins, Toronto, St. Louis and Chicago. One day in practice in an era when goaltenders dressed in ice rinks, Edie caught a slapshot on his unprotected head from Bobby Orr, putting him out of action for seven weeks.

"Papers came around to see me in the hospital for a couple of days and then they quit," he told me once. "I didn't know they were in the room. My weight went from 194 to 155 in a week. There was a blood clot at the back of my head. They kept taking me to the operating room in case the clot moved and they had to drill a hole. They never had to, though. When I got back playing, I put on a mask, you better believe it."

Perhaps because he'd been hit on the head, Edie became a coach, first in Chicago, then twice in Pittsburgh. He began his second Penguins stint last season, having previously coached the team for three years beginning with the 1980-1981 season. He did three years last time in the executive suite in Hartford before returning to the Penguins bench, and serving dutifully in his leave as general and coach back in Cleveland, the Washington Capitals at one time by three games to one in their latest playoffs.

In the fourth game, a 6-2 Washington win, the Pittsburgh coach set a prospering record, according to an Associated Press dispatch, "of 18 four-letter words in a 15-second news conference." The outcome may have helped the Penguins was three in a row and moved on to confront the second New Jersey Devils.

As noted earlier, goaltenders are a different breed and perhaps this explains why a career has been allowed among NHL coaches. Goaltenders are a little weird. They all suffer a unique kind of mission. The very nature of their work prevents them from giving free rein to their emotions. Telecameras can find themselves at a loss by looking down on meaning forward, and forwards can wear up and down involving deflections (if they're looking). Goaltenders stand there, right? They have time to think of their terrible responsibility. What if they blow an easy one?

"While teams last in together, and on qualities in their teammates that cover up a bit on and off the ice, a goalie is the most elegant a team allows to be different," the former Montreal alibi Ken Dryden wrote in his classic book, *The Game*. "Indeed, as a player in anyone at his willingness to dress in cumbersome, oversized equipment to get his job done, a goalie is a puzzle to not be turned on places or flows, to disappear on road trips, to disappear and reappear for long periods of time, to have a single room when everyone else has roommates. After all, shaggy he's a goalie. What can you expect? Flaky, crazy, everything he does accepted and explained, well, it's all a goalie's wonderful house."

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The Bernardo house in Port Dalhousie: the focus of fear, sadness and anger

Home-town horrors

A double-murder trial reopens a city's wounds

Nestled among trees and carefully trimmed shrubbery, the house looks like any another in Port Dalhousie, a picturesque community nestled in the city of St. Catharines, across Lake Ontario from Toronto. Sitting on a corner lot just a few hundred metres from the lake, its clapboard sides are pale pink, its windows decorated with dark green shutters under a gabled roof—more like a clubhouse than a house of horror. But a closer look reveals another image: The basement windows are boarded up. The wooden privacy fence is burning to warp and sag. At the rear of the house, a section of the green-shingled roof has rotted off. The front door is boarded over last week after a model home was opened at the front porch, yet few know about the thousands of brown eggs—deposits in the vaults of grief.

In St. Catharines, the house where Paul Bernardo and his mother Karla Homolka used to live has become a symbol of an innocent community marred by tragedy and horror. It was there, according to Crown attorneys prosecuting Bernardo in Toronto, that the 30-year-old former bookkeeper repeatedly raped and then strangled teenagers Karla French of St. Catharines and Leslie Mahaffy of nearby

Union. The shock is still there—we're living it every day on the television and in the papers."

The fact is, the tragedy of the French and Mahaffy murders could not have happened in a more place: St. Catharines is a quiet, lakeside city that seems to have maintained its small-town feel despite its population of 130,000. Settled by Loyalists after the American War of Independence, the town housed in the 19th century, thanks largely to the 1820 opening of the Welland Canal, a shipping route linking Lake Erie to Lake Ontario across the Niagara Escarpment. Marine traffic spawned heavy industry, which remains to this day—major employers include General Motors and auto-parts manufacturers, as well as a paper recycling plant. Today, despite being hard hit by the past recession, St. Catharines

shows few signs of urban blight. Its tree-lined streets atop Victorian-era homes and carefully tended lawns of lawns. And the town has its share of local heroes, including 1994 world-skiing champion Gail Bennett, 1984 Olympic silver medal-winning cyclist Steve Bauer and Canada's golfing king, Walter Clontar. Port Dalhousie—pronounced "doh-lay"—is a small town, but it offers relief to the area simply as "Port"—merged with St. Catharines in 1990, and is now a valuable area of diversity, open gardens and upscale homes.

In such a setting, the grotesque murders of French and Mahaffy have an air of anomaly. When police arrested Bernardo in February 1993, it stunned local residents, many of whom assumed the suspect must have come from some other—perhaps—the Kate and Brock Hunter, who live a block from the Bernardo home, recall this on the night of the arrest, the street was crowded with onlookers, some crying. "That was the really crazy time," says Kate, a 37-year-old small worker. Over the next few months, Port Dalhousie was flooded by a steady stream of out-of-town gawkers. Brock, a 32-year-old carpenter manager, says that some souvenir collectors took the street members from the Bernardo house's front door. "There were even a couple tour buses driving by," he adds. And like just about everywhere else in Canada, the city was also with rumors about the murders after a bus was stopped on reporting details of the 1993 trial of Homolka. But now that the Bernardo trial has begun, most of these details have been forgotten. Kate says the case is merely discussed among her friends and family. "I think part of the reason is that it's real now," she adds. "It's not just a—don't know—a story."

Driving around St. Catharines, a similar is struck by the way such rural-looking places have become landmarks in one of the most notorious criminal cases in Canadian history. There is the Grace Lutheran Church, a brown brick edifice located on a hill overlooking the town of suburban houses. There, according to Crown prosecutor John Houlahan, Kristin French's nightmare began when Paul Bernardo seduced her from its parking lot in April, 1992. To the south, about 30 minutes from Port Dalhousie, is Lake Ontario, where recreational fishermen found the disembodied body of Leslie Mahaffy, the parts encased in concrete. Roads and lakesides crisscross its length. The water is shallow. And it is in a meandering series of large ponds that a lake, its shores fringed by birches and weeping willows.

For community leaders, the trial at least promises to end an awkward chapter in the city's history. "This is a good, solid community," says chamber of commerce general manager Neil Buckley. "This one particular black mark in its landscape of what St. Catharines is all about." Mayor Usher, a straight-talking former school principal, says he is bitterly disappointed that the Bernardo case has taken so long to come to trial. "If we could have had this thing in court in six months, anger wouldn't sit and fester," he adds. "There's been no outlet for it. I think this individual either proves innocent or guilty, and justice be done. Then I'll let that anger subside." He is particularly concerned about the case's effect on young people. "These kids that see the same age as Kristin French was—what's it doing to them?"

Qualifying a heir in the Lake Ontario Sports Bar in Port Dalhousie, John Potholke, a hockey 30-year-old who, if asked, will proudly show off his new saved rap, explains that his female friends are more cautious—or scared—than they were before. "Instead of saying 'I'll walk home—no problem after a party, they say. You can walk home now.'"

Amid the flurry of emotions, the pink house on Bayview Drive sits, quiet and still. Its fate is a hot topic in St. Catharines these days. "If anyone ever actually wanted to live in that house, I don't think they would be looking at it now," says Brock Hunter. His wife, Kate, agrees. "Yeah, I think they should just believe the thing," she says. Usher, meanwhile, says he would prefer to see a new house erected on the site. "I'd like to see it go up there that fast," he adds, shaking his head. "And let us get over it." But Potholke has a more measured, rational view of the Bernardo case. "Every time I go by," he says, "I get on it."

A hush in the courtroom

They sat side by side in the public gallery of the downtown Toronto courtroom, directly behind Paul Bernardo, the former bookkeeper accused of rape, murdering and dismembering their 14-year-old daughter. For almost an entire afternoon last week, Dan and Debbie Mahaffy kept their heads bowed, eyes closed and tears that as they listened to an Crown witnesses describe in grisly detail the discovery of Leslie Mahaffy's remains on June 29 and 30 of 1991. The body of the Burlington, Ont., teenager had been sliced into 10 parts with a power saw, encased in concrete and dumped in a secluded lake outside St. Catharines, Ont. Along

with other gruesome testimony, Crown attorneys introduced photos of the remains, which were sometimes visible to spectators on a television monitor and by the defense team. The photos evoked a hush in the crowded courtroom, and, for the Mahaffys, landed an absolutely painful day after an excruciating ordeal. At times, Debbie Mahaffy slumped against her husband's shoulder, a tear pressed to her face.



Dan and Debbie French testifying: 'sawed butterfly'

The graphic evidence represented only a small part of the Crown's case against Bernardo, 30, who is also charged with murder in the April, 1992, slaying of 15-year-old Kristin French. Prosecution lawyers contend that Bernardo kidnapped the two girls, held them captive in his St. Catharines home and used them as sex slaves. They contend more than two dozen witnesses had weakly sought to establish the times and circumstances under which the teenagers disappeared

and their bodies were discovered. The most crucial Crown evidence will be presented over the next few weeks. First, the night-time, hair-woman jury is expected to see homemade videotapes, which allegedly show Bernardo sexually and physically assaulting Mahaffy and French. Judge Patrick LeBel is expected to present the public and the media from seeing the tapes. The jury will also hear testimony from Bernardo's 25-year-old ex-wife, Karla Homolka, who is serving concurrent 10-year sentences for her role in the slayings. She is expected to tell the jury that she participated against her will because she was terrified of her former spouse's abusive behavior.

So far, the prosecution's case has provided the public with brief, but revealing, glimpses of the two victims. Witnesses, including two teenage friends, portrayed Mahaffy as a somewhat rebellious girl who, on the night of her disappearance—June 16, 1991—returned home from a musical service and outdoor party almost three hours past her 11 p.m. curfew. Finding the door locked, she phoned a friend from a nearby convenience store, and asked to stay there for the night. When the friend could not accommodate her, Mahaffy decided to quietly return and go home.

Kristin French's mother, Donna, taking the witness stand briefly, identified her daughter as an outgoing and athletic (Grade 10 honors student). She had many friends and a blended family of six children. Donna and her husband, Doug, referred to Kristin as their "sweet baby." French was abducted in a church parking lot on April 15, 1992, while on her way home from school to start the Easter weekend.

In the first full day of the trial, the defense team of John Breen and Tony Dryden cross-examined less than half the witnesses, none very vigorously. The real drama will come when the Crown's star witnesses, Karla Homolka, make their stand—perhaps as early as mid-June—and begin to describe in detail the first hours of Leslie Mahaffy and Kristin French.

DANIEL JIMIN



Bernardo, Homolka: the trial has made everyday places into grisly landmarks

hating for so long," says Suzanne Melville, cousin of education at the St. Catharines Museum. "People are saying, 'What if I had just come home that way? Why didn't I notice something?'" Adds St. Catharines Mayor Alan Usher: "What we're hearing in court, if it's true, is beyond anyone's wildest imagina-

Wytheville, Va., near Roanoke, a small town where the military draft board could be found just upstairs from the gun store: "I had an unspeakably ghastly Southern gothic childhood," he says. "Memories of it are like memories of the 1930s. It was so backward. I grew up under apartheid. Black people couldn't drink from the same water fountain. It was a world where the people who cleaned people's houses were the descendants of people who cleaned their great-grandparents' houses."

An only child, Gibson lost his father when he was 6 and his mother when he was 18. His father, William Gibson Jr., was a relatively affluent, white-collar employee in the construction industry. "His company made their war installing all the toilets for the Oak Ridge atomic bomb project," recalls the author, adding that his father choked to death on a piece of steak in a restaurant while traveling as business. His mother, Elizabeth Gray Gibson, was a housewife and an volunteer librarian—the town had no library, but she helped set one up in a storefront. William shared her passion for books and, as a teenager, became obsessed with science fiction.

At 18, Gibson went away to boarding school in Arizona at his own request. Two years later, at the height of the Vietnam War, he was called in for a preinduction examination in Roanoke and was temporarily branded unfit for military service. "I was such an odd duck," he explains. "I'd been in Arizona and California, and I had shakled, and it showed." Eager to get a little more distance between himself and the draft, Gibson decided to check out Toronto. Gradually, he moved to living there and discovered the counter-culture in the home town of Johnnie Wilkes and Rockwell College.

Marrying his Vancouver-born wife in 1971, he moved with her back to her home town, where they both completed bachelor degrees at the University of British Columbia. Gibson began his writing career shyly, with a series of short stories published in magazines. The first, *Fragments of a Hologram Her* (1977), ran seven pages. But its literary poetic, of logical outcome is like a strand of DNA, fits perfectly all the basic traits of his future work: coded messages, virtual beings, shadowy outlaws, revolution, surveillance, dreams, sex, drugs and switchblades. With his now few sources, notably Johnny Mnemonic and Burning Chrome, he introduced cyberspace scenarios and characters that marinated again and again in the trilogy of *Neuromancer*, *Count Zero* and *Mona Lisa Overdrive*.

Shilling poems in 1980, he co-wrote a backward time-travel novel called *The Difference Engine* with a former teacher, Vasek writer Bruce Sterling. "Bill has common external gifts," says Sterling. "He has good taste but he's not restricted, which is an odd combination. And he possesses his generation—he really put his thumb on something."

Cyberspace could be seen as a 90s upgrade of 1960s psychedelia—total exposure by other means. "It's technically safe," Gibson acknowledged. "So far that personal computers were assessed by academics—told about their hopes in California. It's worry, but it's true."

Just as the drug culture was criminalized, commercialized—and dis-

I had an unspeakably ghastly Southern gothic childhood'



vented to disorganize new tastes such as crack cocaine—cyberspace is rapidly losing its association. "The thing I've always admired about the Internet is that it is not a corporate entity," says Gibson. "But corporations are free to come and go in Cyberspace as well as in cyberspace." An advertising executive the Net, his own money is right in there with the Johnny Mnemonic. *Neuromancer* Hunt, a contest sponsored by Tinfar's parent, Sony, on the World Wide Web. Net adventures are "resembling the equivalent of the sandwich board," Gibson adds. "But it's going to get much more intense. I get tired of all that talk about the information highway. It sounds like a parade of a shopping mall."

Gibson says he called "cyberspace" after watching teenagers play primitive video games in a Vancouver arcade. "Their posture seemed to indicate that they really, sincerely believed there was something behind the screen," he recalls. "I took that posture and tried to come up with a name for it. Literally did sit down at a typewriter one night and go, 'Neuromancer.' Naïve language? Being 'Cyberspace' Blum? It's got a shadow. It sounds interesting." What did it mean? "I had no clue. It was like an empty chocolate cup awaiting the whipped cream."

Now, the cup is much over. On his current publicity tour, Gibson had the sobering experience of being called the grandfather of cyberpunk by a radio host. And he was interviewed by a *Wall Street Journal* writer who had "cyberspace consciousness" in his business card. "I know now that the word is in *The Shimmer Online English Dictionary*," he sighs. "And a kind of himself use that that's what I'll be mem-

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bered for, the thing that less the legend, because actually I wanted to be a novelist."

Gibson modestly insists that, in fact, he has had no influence on the architecture of cyberspace, only on its marketing. But for all his complaints of being typical, he has done little to avoid it. His fiction continues to rework the same themes that made him famous. And, while his early writing was dense and incoherent, beautifully cryptic, his last novel, *Virtual Light*—and his Johnny Mnemonic script—unrolls his ideas into more accessible, linear cinema.

All Gibson's fiction keeps coming back to the idea that media images are just shadows and constructs, past

evocative account of his Virginian youth—playing with a gun "so you wouldn't had to pull trigger"—and of fading hours in Toronto, "bored in Victorian brick-lined sweet life with pink-lard smoke from a cigar rose rolled a Black Cat."

The city has changed since then. At the CN Tower, Gibson poses for photographs with the virtual-city given in the basement. He examines them with weary disdain, saying he hated one when it was just a prototype. Deliberately, Gibson does a Day-Glo bar scene and a gun to pose with a laser-gun game called Q-ZAL. The space-odd image is all wrong, he says. "But this photo," he laughs, "and it will underline everything I've

JOHNNY MNEMONIC

Directed by Robert Longo

Costing Keanu Reeves as a blank slate seems almost too perfect. Even when Reeves is playing characters in his possession of their faculties, there is always something oddly absent about his delivery, as if his words were being filtered through a kind of artificial intelligence. In the title role of Johnny Mnemonic, Reeves has a good excuse for his virtual acting. He plays a cyberspace courier, an information smuggler with a "wet wired" brain capable for transporting other people's data. Johnny dumps his own childhood memories same time ago to make more storage space for his corporate clients. Now, he wants to buy these memories back, but the price is high, and he has to do one last run to pay for them. Scientists delving from a corporate giant called Phoenix are bent to deliver a 300-gigabyte payload of coded data—more than his brain can safely handle—and he does not even know what it contains.

This is a movie with a lot of pretense. It takes place in the second decade of the 21st century. Corporations rule the world with the help of the Yakuza crime syndicate, while info-war rages and guerrillas called LoTeks hack the system. And a fast-paced action called Home Attraction Syndrome ensues general havoc. Adapted by William Gibson from his own 1981 short story, Johnny Mnemonic turns his vision of technodisorder into acts, costumes and special effects. There are some real tricks, including a glowing memo-translator who talks people like ash. And the extended computer-graphic flights through cyberspace are spectacular. Most of Johnny Mnemonic, however, takes place not in cyberspace, but in a boneyard of movie clichés, a familiar world of chase, fights and explosions.

Movie director Robert Longo wrote out his script in shooting and cutting in action mode. And despite his credentials as an artist, his unrelenting stimulation of urban dystopia pains need to presidents set by *Blade Runner* (1982) and *Brazil* (1985). The sets look like sets. The dramatic tone, meanwhile, is woefully inconsistent. For rap singer Ice-T—who plays J-Done, the righteous leader of the LoTeks info-terrorists—there could be a greater theme called *Heaven in the Hood*. Dolph Lundgren's movie-theatrical, a feminist preacher armed with a stealth coulis, appears to be auditioning for a bad Ken Russell movie. German actress Barbara Sukowa (the director's wife, who plays a cyborg-host, flicks in and out like an on-hush phantom. Meanwhile, as a tri-ocrop 08, Reeves plays it absurdly straight. And as Johnny's omniscient background, Gina Meyer puts on a brave face for an action-studio deadline-length date with the world's most unimpressive-revelation lead.

Behind performances often push the movie into an emotional self-satire. Somewhere in the interface between Gibson's lab-wired imagination and the movie's cartoonish chaos, his ideas get garbled. The translation is too loose. Johnny Mnemonic's metaphoric may be among winners unable to split an understood as title. Cyberspace has given birth to cyberscience.

D.J.

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A SILICON VALLEY BOY GETS LOST IN CYBERSPACE

Reveals Jeff, Tokusaki a boneyard of movie clichés—a world of chase, fights and explosions

previous retracted through the media. His new novel, *Idoru*, is about a Japanese pop star who doesn't really exist. The idea was inspired by the true story of a Tokyo teen who was in a virtual construct, composed of a singer's voice, a lip-synching performer, and a model whose face appeared on magazine covers. "We are always up against reality and such violence," says Gibson. "But science fiction may become a historical term." His ultimate challenge, he adds, would be to write a novel set in the real world that would have all the verisimilitude of his science fiction.

Meanwhile, he has published an intimate autobiographical work, a poem called *Amphetamine* (*Blow of the Wind*). It was sold as a high-priced art object, with the text on a disk programmed to erase itself after one reading. *Idoru*, however, managed to demolish *Amphetamine* as the Internet, where it is now freely available. The poem, an

tried to do for 30 years." But before leaving, he plays a record of the game for an eager fan.

After dinner, Gibson steps outside for a smoke on the observation deck. It is a clear night, and there is a still road. Far below, the city's curvature is spread out in flat as a prairie, a shimmering sprawl of lights that seems suspended in space, crosshatched by the mesh of the deck's safety rail. Gibson remembers picturing cyberspace in "the first micro-photographs of computer chips—which looked a lot like aerial photographs of cities." He says, "One night I had a moment in that the Internet may be important because we are seeing something akin to what we did when we invent of cities." Gibson gestures to the horizon at Victoria Day fireworks realize from blazes in the distance. "We invented this, as a species, during reality," he says, looking out at the city-like neon scene staring up at the stars and glimmering infinity. □

BOOKS

Life of torment

A novel's anti-hero is numbed and alienated

HILTON'S ELEMENTS

By Cecilia Strube
(Coach House, 282 pages, \$18.95)

Last year, Toronto writer Cecilia Strube caught critics' interest with her first novel, *Alex & Zee*. Shortlisted for a *Scotiabank/Books in Canada First Novel Award*, it is the tale of a not particularly likable couple trying to figure out what to do with their lives—and with each other. Now, Strube has followed up with *Milton's Elements*, a story about a lonely and dysfunctional, if not the *Mephistopheles* to shame. At the bottom of the book, Strube quotes John Milton from *Paradise Lost*: "Our torments also may in length of time become our elements." *Milton's Elements* is the black and acerbic, amusing story of the ways in which people deal with the heavy hands they have been dealt.

Milton is a dyed-in-the-wool who fantasizes that he is *Rebus*. "He hears ticks

snaps, watches bodies level over lawnswards, hears skulls split against the concrete," writes Strube. "As he steps onto the bed on, he feels crushed, torn, powerful" but in reality, Milton cannot even bring himself to kill an insect. And he spends most of his time watching television and regretting everything he has ever done.

He is particularly tormented by the death of his three-year-old daughter, Ariel, seven months earlier. She was crushed to death when she pulled the television over on herself. Milton was supposed to have been watching her.

His wife, Judith, deals with the loss in a more open way. She constantly talks about her feelings (which drives Milton crazy) and waits a brace character to help with her recovery. At one point, Milton surreptitiously watches Judith eating ice cream at the Dairy

Queen. "When she finished, she pushed the dish aside and rested her forehead on her hands the way she does," writes Strube. "He had a feeling there was a side to Judith he could never possibly know. Some other guy might be able to, some guy with feelings. But not him."

Things only get worse for Milton. He is fired from his factory job. Judith leaves him after he hits her. On top of it all, his pathetic family moves into his house one after another.

Mary, his foul-mouthed, wild mother; Leonard, his older brother, who is dying of AIDS; Mandy, his chain-smoking sister; and her two delinquent teenage sons, and Carmie, the youngest, a pathological liar and hooker whom Milton feels alternately protective of and attracted to.

In the end, Milton is somewhat redeemed, but *Milton's Elements* is so heartwarming a story. And Strube gives only tiny glimpses of evidence that Milton has any potential for recovery. Unfortunately, that is just not enough to lift the reader out of the book's miserable bleakness. *Milton* is so numbed and alienated by the turns his life has taken, and yet—like all the other characters—so utterly sympathetic, that it is hard to feel anything but drained by his story.

NORA UNDERWOOD



Strube: *Milton's Elements*

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As President of Debra Corporation, the software division whose products include the best-selling WinFax PRO software, Mark Shepherd is always on the go. Whether in or other offices in North America, or just to the cottage, Mark likes to stay in touch. That's why he relies on his Nokia cellular phone. No matter where he is, he can always network with his associates. But that's not the only reason Mark interfaces with Nokia.

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Oswald charismatic, and still a mystery

Assessing an assassin

Norman Mailer says Oswald really did do it

**OSWALD'S TALE:
AN AMERICAN MYSTERY**

By Norman Mailer
Shabon House, 191 pages, \$39.95

At 72, Norman Mailer can still do what he has always done best—write, as works on a grand scale, the advantages of fiction and a mixture of psychology and reportage. In this sense, his long-awaited biography of John F. Kennedy's alleged assassin, *Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery*, is pure Mailer. That it, it is poetic, epigrammatic and not always grammatical, but it is also full of suggested insights and warring conclusions.

Do not, however, be misled. This is not the Norman Mailer of the '50s, '60s and '70s, who stood foursquare against the Establishment, as he did in *The American Novel* (1958) or *Miami and the Siege of Chicago* (1968). Of late, Mailer has joined the conservative majority. His previous book, the 1991 novel *Harold's Ghost*, was a hymn to the CIA. So it is not surprising to find the author writing about Lee Harvey Oswald that, "after all this time, there is no overriding evidence that he was definitely associated with the KGB, the CIA, army or navy intelligence or any Cuban groups. It is still possible to believe that Oswald was simply an overambitious yet much bespoken husband with an unbalanced wife, a vein of insanity towards his wife, and that was the end sum of him."

For it is one of the contradictions of American life that the Kennedy assassination has long polarized people along political lines in unexpected ways. The radical conservatives (the ones currently forcing militia brigades or sympathizing with them) believe in government conspiracies as a matter of course—except in the case of JFK and Oswald, where it is still mostly liberals who cannot bring themselves to accept, as Mailer does, that Oswald shot Kennedy and acted alone in doing so.

Given that the chain of physical evidence is broken at scenes of phone, objective and intellectually honest investigators would be hard-pressed to conclude that Oswald was guilty of anything more than carrying a concealed weapon—in Texas, that is now a misdemeanor at most candidacy for good citizenship. Mailer's book, although Mailer in its blundering acceptance of Oswald's culpability, is nonetheless excellent.

First, there is the matter of the book's genesis. After serving a hitch in the U.S. Marines, during which time he was educated in Mandarin and the Roman language, Oswald landed up in Moscow, aiming to defect. The skeptical Soviets sent him to Minsk where he worked in a radio factory and met and married Maria Pavlovna in 1961. Mailer, along with his business partner Lawrence Sanders, had held all the old KGB files on Oswald from Dnepropetrovsk, at which Minsk is the capital. In addition, they interviewed 17 current or for-

mer KGB officials, both then and in Moscow. Oswald spent only 2½ years in the Soviet Union but that period takes up the first half of this almost 300-page book. While the title discounts the story which the yarn is considered as a whole, it certainly adds a great deal of previously unknown—*if* supernatural truth—information about Oswald's true identity.

What is more important is Mailer's deep and steadily revealed understanding both of conspiracies in general (both these "yarn-like" preparations is exposed and exposed as our look to business each explosion?) and of the singular personality of Oswald has self. What an extraordinary and altogether improbable figure he was. Born in 1929, he was smothered by his widowed mother, who nonetheless suffered him in an orphanage when she remarried. It was in order to get an education that he joined the marines at 17, whereupon he promptly met and courted his fellow leathernecks to Marlene. Oswald was obviously a very comely young man, and Mailer notes the "extreme contrast between Oswald's attractiveness and his authoritarianism."

There is every reason to believe that Oswald was sincere about socialism (Mailer gips that his subject would have been right at home had he lived only five more years, to 1969, the high-water mark of the antiwar and civil rights movements). There is much to suggest that he was brilliant, although it is not easy to see a war-torn class person with dyslexia to make that impression upon the world at large. He became a kind of passive and secular socialist, the modern era in the story of America can be dated to Nov. 22, 1963, the day of Kennedy's assassination.

Canadians have Norman Mailer's, the British have T. E. Lawrence, and Americans (whether they accept the fact or not) have their own charismatic, impetuous and endlessly fascinating equivalent in Lee Oswald. In the other number of facts to his personality, in his volatile nature and interior complexities, Oswald is probably the most intensely interesting American political figure since Thomas Jefferson, although of course the two were very different.

Mailer writes: "We are, in effect, studying an object that we use the word for a person as (or so-called) as he tumbles through the prism of a kaleidoscope." Later he adds: "It is some degree he will always remain mysterious, that contributes nonetheless to our devastating sense of him." And

later still: "The difficulty with closing the case on Oswald is that every time you shut the door, a crack opens in the wall." And if you prove the point, Mailer's reasoning but making back succeeds in turning the crack into a gaping crevice.

DOUGLAS FEEDERLING



Mailer: egotistical, poetic, magnificent

MUSIC

From sex god to truth seeker

In the 1970s, Montreal-born Gino Vannelli was the quintessential disco station, a hairy-chested prince of synthesizer rock and disco pop. He was a genuine sex symbol, drawing thousands of screaming female fans to sold-out concerts across North America. But by the mid-1980s Vannelli had grown disillusioned with his macho image—and his Roman Catholic faith. Adopting an existentialist outlook, he went through a life-altering experience while his tag store in the Peruvian Andes, earning face-lifts, he says, with a "superior being." That spiritual awakening has since led to an extensive study of Hindu, Buddhist and mystic Christian values. Four years ago, Vannelli left his longtime home in Los Angeles, moving with his wife and son to the quieter city of Portland, Ore. The following year, while on tour in Japan, he spent several weeks with Zen monks near Tokyo, Nara,

the 42-year-old Vannelli is surprising his followers again in his new recording, *Vander Tree*, a jazz-infused—and soul-seeking—revisit of his spiritual journey.

Recorded with an acoustic trio (pianist Randy Porter, bassist Phil Baker and drummer Gordon Lent) and various guests, including the Vancouverian saxophonist Tara Scott, the album ventures modestly into the lush, 1960s style reminiscent of Frank Sinatra's romantic ballads. But Vannelli takes a decidedly unpolished approach to his lyrics. Songs such as *A Little Bit of Jesus and John* and *All That You Wished* with images of temptation and desire. *Kisses on Legs*, which features a top-dance solo from Gregory Hines, charts Vannelli's inner quest with such raw lyrics as, "Found Jesus and St. Martha in a bar in Diskaria." That decidedly personal lyrical agenda sets *Vander Tree* apart from the work of Barry Manilow Jr.,



Vannelli: Sinatra's style and an inner y

Cassidy's Holly Cole and other vocalists who have explored older jazz styles. But one sign that the jazz community is willing to give Vannelli serious consideration is his June 20 appearance at this summer's Montreal International Jazz Festival.

Striving to be a Toronto role model, Vannelli appeared unconcerned about his new album's chances of commercial success. Wearing blue jeans, a black tuxedo jacket and tinted aviator shades, and without his Afro hairstyle of the '70s, the singer talked about how he came to make *Vander Tree*. "I've simply liked some of the jazz-influenced soulsters, the breathy-sounding ballads," he said. "And I wanted to write something in that vein without sounding nostalgic." He added, "The album represents the journey I've been on, and this wanting to break through and do something I've always wanted, without being afraid of whether or not I'm going to sell a lot of records."

Vannelli notes that his father, Joseph, a mediocre singer himself who died four months ago, was also a big influence on the new album. "My father was a Sinatra aficionado who played me all those classic Big Top albums from the late '50s and early '60s," says Vannelli. "When you're brought up with the best tunes and arrangements, it's hard to top that. Sinatra's singing was impeccable—everything a singer wants to be." One of three boys born to barber Joseph and his wife, Della, Gino had his own rock band,

the Cobras, before he reached his teens. After he and brother Joe formed another group, inspired by Motown and called the Jacksonville Five, Gino went solo and began shaping tones of his music around "Traveling in Los Angeles in 1973, Gino landed a recording deal with A&M Records after impressing producer Herb Alpert with his vocals and charisma."

The singer's albums over the next few years spawned several hits, including *People*

quake haunted by his image as a 25-year-old, well-discarded "stud." In fact, the singer now says that the whole time he was adored as a sex symbol he was deeply confused. "I was taught that my ladies and sex were something divine," says Vannelli, who attended a strict Roman Catholic school in Montreal and later became an altar boy. "The image that I portrayed and my feelings towards women were constantly on trial, and I wound up unhappy and confused."

Having rediscovered a new, deeper faith, Vannelli wrote music at peace with himself. On the later release *Vander Tree*, he thanks his wife, Thelma, and their eight-year-old son, Anton, for "putting up with this daylong ditherer, living in the center in the general direction of the outer grocery store." But he dedicates the album to his late father who, he says, "gave me out of a love of beauty. Recall Vannelli." The core told me, "Don't ever be like me. But we all feel that fear. I have to ask myself, 'Will the public accept me, or can I grow old with them thinking that I'm not good anymore?' That's the trap of having been some sort of sex god. And it's very hard to get past." During his spiritual wanderings of the past several years, Gino Vannelli has struggled to reinvent himself. On the evidence of *Vander Tree*, he has at least succeeded in leaving the carnal side of his performance far behind.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

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On a new course for the future



A proprietary perspective

BY STEWART MacLEOD

As a matter of interest, ever men, der how certain Canadians, individuals and even themselves—to name a few—have managed to lay exclusive claim to valuable adjectives? For all practical purposes, they have taken them out of general circulation.

Not dead? Well, for those of us in the word marketing trade, it's become a problem of policy propositions, even more so than the electronic disasters of computerland that befall on daily. You know about that. One word lay down another day's work supposed.

No, what's worse by far is the kidnapping of certain otherwise useful words and expressions by special-interest groups. From first-hand experience, even cancer victims are no the act.

Look at that pesky pro-control business. And why, for heaven's sake, have gun owners managed to hijack such a perfectly general-use expression as "law-abiding," or, in certain alternatives, "respectable"? When was the last time you played guitar quite out with out referring to law-as-law-abiding?

Soon, the way things are going, there will be a Canadian Law Abiding Association run on two grand corners of the U.S. National Title Association.

Now, when any other organization comes forward with a batch of lobbying, they look like phantasmagoric players (if they claim to be, "law-abiding item employment dealers" or "respectable consumer-benefit collectors"). They are forced to settle for something like "freedom-loving (franchise owners)" or "amateurish entrepreneurial collectors."

Lord knows when it started, but it clearly goes back to the seizure, by the Roman Catholic Church, of "devout," a word once in the domain of all believers. Granted, it's used less these days, but it's far from the point where your run-of-the-mill Protestant can make the claim. They must

Certain useful words and expressions have been kidnapped by special-interest groups and removed from their role in our language

still settle for "adherent," "member" or a lively "be attached . . ."

As for journalists, although it's no matter of pride, we have sole ownership of the word "suing," "sued"—as in "even sued journalists were shocked." That's about as good as you'll ever hear of a sued journalist? A sued journalist?

You'll notice that Times and Tribune have never been credited with a "conscience." Since 1980, that's been the proud possession of the New Democratic. Beane after them? Sure, the Times—remember them?—can't rest out extraneous from "Red Tory" so "widespread," but no conscience is between. Oddly, the official Tory color is blue.

On the national scene, "ground" is to be used before "Canadian." A job-lover can be a "winded" nationalist or an "winded" nationalist.

Ardent Canadians don't exist.

Take "hardened." That's used exclusively for criminals with two or more crimes under their belt. Can't be used in any other profession, not even evangelists with a dozen or more names under their belt. Even professional wrestlers, with 2,000 body slams under their belts, never harden. Get names, maybe, but not hardened.

And once suggested, words never expire. As they say, once you get a reputation as an early riser, you can sleep until noon the rest of your life.

As for Swastikas, who cross in ridiculous stunts and stunts and commit all sorts of while waving like banners, they will always be exclusively "dour." Since it's so ludicrously inappropriate, one can only wonder whether "dour," perhaps in ancient Gaelic, once referred to sagged hair-balls.

Consider "character," a word useful now that suggested any number of descriptive adjectives including "bald" and "good." It now stands alone, the exclusive property of millionaire hockey players who don't fold to the face of a one-pool deficit. "There showed character out there," says the screaming coach, smiling under exclusive "moral victory."

Hence, while critical of captured descriptions, we'll openly admit to accepting, albeit briefly, a personal benefit from them. Jaded journalists are expected to reveal potential conflicts of interest.

Assuming you're old enough for a daily browsing of obscenity—as opposed to birth announcements—you're aware that victims of cancer and they alone, are credited with brave, courageous or valiant battles. Never has anyone succeeded following "a valiant battle against diverticulitis." Painful as the devil, but no wars.

So you can easily understand how a bit weird, believing it was merely anti-biotic pneumonia—which doesn't even qualify you for get well cards—I was given the exhilarating news. You noticed, the dear doctor, possibly a Swede or Scottish chap, had taken a voyage of discovery inside me and found a bathroom sink-sized island of cancer.

Great. This meant that, at the very least, I would someday become valiant—even though unfortunately these awards are given only posthumously. That's a definite downside. But even in death, no other disease, no matter how cruel or debilitating, offers the same badge of valor.

Simply lying there and contemplating the inevitable invasion status did marvels for morale. It even eliminated some daytime whispering.

Not complaining, mind you, but there's an increase in surviving "lucky" is not exactly the Victoria Cross or the Medal of Freedom. Furthermore, they take away your bravery pills.

Now, when the inevitable eventually comes, there's absolutely no guarantee of heaven. It could be a no-name brand killer screaming at us better than that "bitter little illness." And there has never been a course gross battle against that.

With diminished chances of medical words, perhaps the best bet is to try collapsing on the bench during the third period of a hockey game, while carrying a rifle. That should at the very least, represent a display of law-abiding character.

Stewart MacLeod is Ottawa columnist for Thomson News Service.

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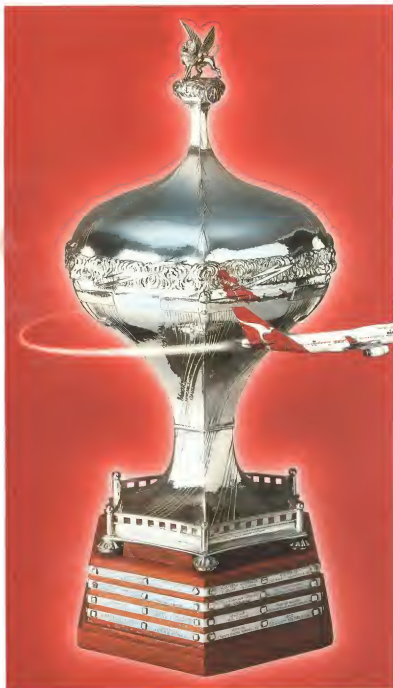
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